

*Y aunque no lo creas, that works*  
A Study of Spanish-English Language Mixing

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Supervisor: Signe Oksefjell Ebeling



Master Thesis  
Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages

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# Abstract

This project investigates Spanish-English language mixing, a.k.a. Spanglish. The investigation aims to compare and contrast spoken and written data of this language contact phenomenon and test hypotheses about code switching among fluent bilinguals, Spanish-dominant bilinguals and English-dominant bilinguals. With regard to the former aim, the spoken data has been collected in a fieldwork in New York City, and is compared and contrasted to the written testament of this mix *Pollito Chicken* by Ana Lydia Vega. Through the description and analysis of these data sets the present thesis shows that there are both similarities and differences between spoken and written Spanish-English language mixing. The conclusion of the former aim is that, while Ana Lydia Vega manages to capture many features of spontaneous spoken Spanglish, there are also features present that are not typical of the spoken data in the investigation. With regard to the second aim, the investigation shows that a revision of generalizations about fluent bilinguals, Spanish-dominant bilinguals and English-dominant bilinguals might be in order.



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# 1.Introduction

The use of two languages within the same conversation or even within the same sentence is a phenomenon that has been studied within many fields, such as sociolinguistics and second language acquisition covering many different language-pairs. The practice of mixing two languages has been said to be the result of *language contact* and *bilingualism*, because “bilinguals dispose of two grammars and lexicons, and the lexicons can be viewed as one large collection that consists of several subsets.” (Muysken 2000: 69). Since Spanish and English have been in contact on North-American soil for more than a century (Lipski 2007b: 1), the habit of deploying different language contact phenomena, such as *code switching*, *borrowing*, *interference*, etc. has become common among Spanish-English bilinguals across the United States.

This phenomenon has in some circles come to be known as Spanglish, and the term has been at the center of controversy since Salvador Tío coined it in 1952. Due to its widespread use and its connections to Hispanic identity several works of literature have been written using this mix. For one, Ilan Stavans has translated the first chapter of “Don Quijote” using Spanglish:

In un placete de La Mancha of which nombre no quiero remembrearme, vivía, not so long ago, uno de esos gentlemen who always tienen una lanza in the rack, una buckler antigua, a skinny caballo y un grayhound para el chase.

*In a place in La Mancha, which name I don't want to remember, lived, not so long ago one of these gentlemen who always has a spear in the rack, an old buckler, a skinny horse and a greyhound for the chase.* (Stavans 2003: 253).

Secondly, according to Stavans, the writer Giannina Braschi suggested ‘a bilingual manifesto’ at Harvard University:

El bilinguismo es una estética bound to double business. O tis most sweet when in one line two crafts directly meet. To be and not to be. Habla con la boca llena and from both sides of its mouth. Está con Dios y con el diablo. Con el punto y con la coma. Es un purgatorio, un signo gramatical intermedio, entre heaven and earth, un semicolon entre la independendia y la estadidad, un estado libre asociado, un mararrancho multicultural. (in Stavans 2000: 556).

*Bilingualism is an aesthetics bound to double business. O tis most sweet when in one line two crafts directly meet. To be and not to be. Speak with the mouth full and from both sides of its mouth. It is with God and with the devil. With the period and the comma. It's a purgatory, an intermediate grammatical sign, between heaven and*

*earth, a semicolon between independence and state, a free associated state, a multicultural mararrancho*<sup>1</sup>.

Finally, and significant to the present investigation, the Puerto Rican author Ana Lydia Vega has written the short story *Pollito Chicken* using language mixing in its written form. This text will be used as data in my investigation. Here is an excerpt (see appendix IV):

Todo lo cual nos pone en el aprieto de contarles el surprise return de Suzie Bermiúdez a su native land tras diez años de luchas incesantes.

*All of which puts us in the awkward situation of telling you about Suzie Bermiúdez' surprise return to her native land after three years of never-ending struggle.*

The three quotations from three different publications presented above show how diverse this mix can be, which is why the topic attracted me in the first place. In many ways the thesis began during a one-week vacation in East Harlem, New York City in the summer of 2010. During this week I both heard of and heard Spanglish, and started thinking about pursuing the topic for my upcoming thesis project. Considering my double major in Spanish and English, I also saw the opportunity to pursue a topic that would allow me to combine these two competences. After this first stay in New York I started reading about the subject, and became more and more interested in writing a thesis on this particular case of language mixing. As a result of the first steps of researching the subject I came across authors that had published literature in Spanglish (some of which are presented above), including my first encounter with Ana Lydia Vega and her short story *Pollito Chicken*. Ultimately, this resulted in an idea to compare and contrast this particular short story to spoken data, and thus the choice to return to New York City to collect spoken data of Spanish-English language mixing.

This thesis will first and foremost have a qualitative approach. However, since the data will be presented using numbers and statistics, a quantitative approach will to some extent be present as well. The investigation will be conducted using recorded and transcribed spoken data and the short story *Pollito Chicken*. The two different datasets, i.e. what has been recorded and collected, will in other words be considered to represent *knowledge* in the investigation. This is also connected to the use of the qualitative approach, as within this method of research *knowledge* is what “is observed and recorded by the researcher.” (Li and Moyer 2008: 23) The purpose of the project is to see whether or not language mixing in the

---

<sup>1</sup> I was not able to find a translation for this word. The only place it is used is in Stavan's article where he quotes Giannina Braschi.

short story is comparable to natural spontaneous speech, and to contribute to the already established knowledge on the subject.

The research perspective of this investigation will be of a linguistic nature, of which there are several established theoretical frameworks, and this thesis will draw on theories provided by Pieter Muysken, Carol Myers-Scotton and Shana Poplack in particular. On the one hand, the wider context of the investigation will be that of language as form and structure, since the spoken and written data will be analyzed linguistically. On the other hand language as social action and practice will also play a vital role since language mixing has been said to have a social and symbolic function, “e.g. marking a mixed culture identity.” (Muysken 2000: 69). All of these points can be summarized in the following quotation:

Linguistic structures, once identified, can be analyzed in a variety of ways. Quantification is needed in order to establish which forms are representative for a group of speakers and should therefore constitute a reliable object/input for further elaboration in fields such as sociolinguistic, formal linguistics or functional linguistics. (Li and Moyer 2008: 19)

Rephrased according to the present context: the thesis aims to describe and analyze linguistic structures in both spoken and written form, quantifying them to be able to see what is representative for the informants at hand and the short story *Pollito Chicken*. By doing this I have to be able to shed light on *language contact* and *bilingualism* in the Spanish-English domain. These aims will be further elaborated in the following section.

## 1.1. Aims

Initially the main aim was to investigate the linguistic phenomenon called Spanglish, and as the project progressed the aims have become more and more specific. The project has two principal aims. The first aim was framed in the research stage of the investigation after having collected the spoken data. Reading John M. Lipski’s publications about Spanish-English *code switching* I came across a description of three different groups of bilinguals, and decided to use these descriptions as hypotheses for the investigation. Since the literature in general seems to agree that there are differences between different groups of bilinguals in terms of tendencies when switching, it would be interesting to test this on the collected spoken data.

The informants that have contributed to the spoken data all have been deemed ‘Spanish-dominant bilinguals’, and the following is Lipski’s description of this group:

Spanish-speaking immigrants typically switch only at major discourse boundaries such as sentences and paragraphs, usually in response to shifting domains of discourse. Calques from English are rare and English lexical items are usually inserted in non-assimilated fashion.” (2005: 1).

Consequently, the first research question is: ‘does the spoken data collected for this thesis support John M. Lipski’s claims about Spanish-dominant bilinguals?’

While the first research question was formulated rather late in the process, the second research question has to some extent remained an aim throughout the project. In the project description written before the material was collected it was decided that the main aim would be to compare and contrast written and spoken language mixing. The thesis will provide a descriptive and analytical account of both spoken and written Spanish-English language mixing using spoken data collected in New York City, and *Pollito Chicken*. These descriptive and analytical accounts will be used to achieve the second principal aim. Subsequently, the second research question is: ‘To what extent is spoken Spanish-English language mixing represented in the short story *Pollito Chicken*?’ As in the first research question, John M. Lipski proves to be relevant in this context as well. When he describes Spanish-dominant bilinguals, he also describes fluent bilinguals, and claims that they are:

(...) most noted for intrasentential code-switching, and for the use of language switches to achieve pragmatic ends such as foregrounding, ethnic solidarity, persuasion and the like. Calques of idiomatic expressions in English are frequent when speaking Spanish, with fewer cases of Spanish calques in English discourse, and numerous loans from English are present. (Lipski 2005: 1)

Since it will be argued that Ana Lydia Vega, the author of the short story, would be characterized as a fluent bilingual, Lipski’s description of this group will prove relevant when comparing the spoken to the written data.

## 1.2. Thesis Outline

The thesis consists of 7 chapters. The first, and present chapter serves as an introduction which includes a general introduction to the thesis and its aims, a thesis outline and a section about the phenomenon and term Spanglish.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework. This section includes sections about central terms, phenomena and theoretical models that will be applied on the data. The general phenomena are *language contact*, *bilingualism* and the specific language contact phenomena are *borrowing* and *code switching*. The central models applied are Carol Myers-Scotton's model regarding *borrowing* and Pieter Muysken's theoretical model concerning *intrasentential code switching*. In Muysken's model Poplack and Myers-Scotton's models will also prove relevant.

Chapter 3 presents the methodological approach taken in this thesis as well as the data used. As this is an empirical study, the data and how it was collected is a fundamental factor. The chapter presents the spoken and the written data in two separate sections (i.e. section 3.1 and 3.2). The methods concerning the spoken data will be described in detail including sections with the aims for the fieldwork, how the informants were recruited, a presentation of the informants and their linguistic proficiency, how the data was recorded, and how the data was transcribed. Once methods concerning the spoken data have been presented, the written data is presented.

Chapter 4 consists of a descriptive and analytical account of the spoken data. It quantifies the spoken data and illustrates the different terms and models using examples from the spoken data collected. The chapter will include sections about *borrowing* and *code switching* which includes a presentation of *extrasentential switching* before the *intrasentential switches*. The latter type is then described, analyzed and exemplified following Pieter Muysken's framework with *insertion*, *alternation* and *congruent lexicalization*. The final section in Chapter 4 (4.4) includes the answers to the first research question. This section aims to show how John M. Lipski's claims relate to the spoken component of the data.

Chapter 5 consists of a descriptive and analytical account of the written data. This chapter is organized using the same structure as Chapter 4, i.e. including sections about *borrowing* and *code switching* using the models presented in Chapter 2.



Chapter 6 presents the results of the investigation concerning the second research question. Accordingly the spoken and written data are compared and contrasted, presenting the similarities first and then the differences between these two components of data.

Finally in Chapter 7 observations relevant to the research questions will be summarized and conclusions will be drawn. It consists of a summary of the conclusions drawn about John M. Lipski's claims about *code switching*, answers regarding the relationship between the spoken and written data, and thoughts and ideas for future research.

## 1.3. Spanglish

It is not difficult to understand how this term was coined: half Spanish and half English make up the term Spanglish. It is as a colloquial term often used to refer to the mixing of Spanish and English, or to the Spanish spoken by Hispanics in the United States. In this thesis, the main focus will be on the former even though some of the traits characterized as Spanish spoken by Hispanics in the United States will to some extent be present.

Spanglish has been a subject of debate over the years, and two issues in particular have been at its center. The following section discusses these issues in turn. The first is about to what Spanglish is referring, and of what it is the result. The second, and of most central importance for this thesis, is the discussion about whether or not Spanglish is an appropriate term to use. The objective is to gain a better understanding of the term, and to explain and justify the choices made in the present thesis regarding terminology.

### 1.3.1. Controversy and Spanglish

As mentioned in the introduction, Salvador Tío coined the term Spanglish in 1952, (Lipski 2008: 41) due to his concern about the deterioration of Spanish in Puerto Rico because of English influence. Since the term was introduced, and the language contact phenomena originating in Puerto Rico spread to other parts of the world, it has been at the center of controversy.

Some clarifications about to what this term usually refers are in order. The first aspect worth mentioning is that the term seems to refer to a bundle of different linguistic phenomena,

including *code switching*, *interference*, *lexical borrowing*, *calques*, *false friends*, etc. The main focus will be on two separate phenomena relating to the term Spanglish. The first is Spanglish as a variety of Spanish with English influence, where the terms *interference*, *calques* and *false friends* are relevant. The second is Spanglish as the linguistic phenomenon *code switching*. In addition to being a term with many different definitions with no universally adapted definition (Lipski 2008: 53) it is also a term and phenomenon conceived of having a negative impact on the two languages in the mix:

Once asked by a reporter for his opinion on *el espanglés*, one of the ways to refer to Spanglish south of the border – some others are *casteyanqui*, *inglañol*, *argot sajón*, *español bastardo*, *papiamento gringo*, and *caló pachuco* – Octavio Paz, the Mexican author of *The Labyrinth of Solitude* and a Nobel prize recipient, is said to have responded: “Ni es bueno ni es malo, sino es abominable”. (*It’s neither good, nor bad, it’s abominable*, my translation) (Stavans 2000: 555).

This quotation from Stavans not only provides the many names used to refer to these phenomena, but it also gives an idea about attitudes towards Spanglish. Joseph Garafanga also points out the negative attitudes toward *code switching* in general:

Such negative attitudes towards language alternation are very common and can be found wherever in the world bilingual speakers draw on their two or more languages in interaction with other bilingual speakers. These attitudes translate a deeply rooted monolingual linguistic ideology. (Garafanga in Auer and Li 2007: 279).

The first debate to be presented is whether or not Spanglish is a result of poor language skills, and whether or not it eventually will contribute to the deterioration of Spanish in the United States. The idea is that the use of Spanish with English elements, be it in terms of grammar, vocabulary or language mixing, is due to a lack of language skills in one or both languages on the speakers’ part (cf. Lipski 2007a: 208). In this respect it is important to keep the two phenomena presented above apart, as attitudes toward *code switching* have improved over the years.

Ilan Stavans is one of the scholars who proclaims that the use of Spanglish is not necessarily a linguistic phenomenon only occurring among the uneducated “no longer fluent in the language of Cervantes, but [who] have also failed to master that of Shakespeare” (Stavans 2000: 555). He states that it is a “bridge (...) that unites the Latino community”, and “an underground vehicle of communication” (ibid.). He sees Spanglish as much more than just a linguistic phenomenon when he compares it to African American Vernacular English

and Yiddish. His view is that the aforementioned varieties differ linguistically and in terms of vocabulary from the standard language, and that they encompass culture, ethnicity and identity in addition to the pure linguistics of a language (cf. Stavans 2000: 556-557). To sum up and illustrate these points of view a quotation by Toribio is provided because she formulates the two sides of this debate elegantly:

Interpreted through a sociocultural lens, Spanish-English code switching may be embraced and endorsed as affording US Latinos an authentic means of representing the juxtaposition of the Latino and US cultures; still for others, this self-same bilingual behavior represents the contamination of the native culture in contact with the dominant US culture borne of the convergence of traditions (Toribio 2002: 90).

Even though Toribio mainly takes up the cultural side of the term and concept of Spanglish, the same can be said for the linguistic result of the “juxtaposition of the Latino and US cultures”. On one hand it is possible to see this as a way in which Latinos in the United States can achieve authenticity in terms of identity. On the other hand it is considered to be “the contamination” of both languages and cultures. The second point is that a definition of *code switching* is “(...) the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments (...)” (Poplack and Meechan in Thomason 2001: 134), and that the term juxtaposition is used both when referring to its linguistic form and to Latino and U.S. cultures. This strengthens the link between opinions about the cultural and linguistic interpretations. Finally, the quotation introduces the term *Spanish-English code switching*, and Toribio’s possible motivations for using this term instead of Spanglish will be discussed in the next section.

### 1.3.2. The Term Spanglish

The second, and more central debate regarding the present thesis is whether or not it is appropriate to use the term Spanglish when referring to the mixing between Spanish and English. The focal point of this section is to present and discuss problems concerning the use of the term Spanglish, and to justify the choices that have been made regarding the terminology used.

Ricardo Otheguy and Nancy Stern have published a paper called *On the so-called Spanglish*. As the title of the paper suggests, they claim that Spanglish is unfortunate and misleading because Spanish in the United States cannot be characterized as a hybrid language.

Additionally they claim that the term deprives the Latino community of the resource it is to master a world language (cf. Otheguy and Stern 2010: 86). The article's focus is Spanish spoken in the US, and it goes through various characteristics, including vocabulary, morphology, phraseology and syntax, which Spanish in the U.S. is claimed to have as a result of English influence. The claim is that all of these characteristics is comparable to characteristics of varieties of Spanish in Latin America and Spain. They also claim that the term Spanglish suggests a hybrid language consisting of the two languages in question (Spanish and English), and that the Spanish spoken in the US is not in fact a mix between two language systems:

The word Spanglish is misleading because the components of this word are obviously the name of two other languages, Spanish and English, and hearers reasonably conclude that Spanglish too must be the name of a language, a mix of its two components. (Otheguy and Stern 2010: 96).

When it comes to the use of both Spanish and English in the same conversation, they advocate the use of the term *code switching*, which is a known phenomenon occurring with many different language pairs. In itself, the mixing between two (or more) languages, common among bilinguals worldwide, “does not justify the use of the term Spanglish.” (Otheguy and Stern: 2010: 97).

Another important argument they make is that the term has ramifications on its users. Using the term Spanglish suggests that it is a new language, and that its speakers do not know either Spanish or English. They go on to say that its use will disgrace the Hispanic population in the US, and rob Hispanics of the advantage it is to speak two world languages. John M. Lipski, shares the view that Spanglish has derogatory connotations:

(...) *Spanglish* is used derogatorily, to marginalize U.S. Latino speakers and to create the impression – not supported by objective research – that varieties of Spanish used in or transplanted to the United States become so hopelessly entangled with English as to constitute a “third language” substantially different from Spanish and English. (2007a: 198).

This view is obviously linked to the previous discussion about whether or not this mix is spoken by the uneducated. It suggests that the Latino community lacks the mastery of the world languages that Spanish and English are. Otheguy and Stern conclude that “the language of Latinos in the USA is simply one more popular variety of Spanish” (2010: 97) and thus

argue that one should refrain from using the term and replaced it with the less loaded “Spanish in the United States”.

In addition to these arguments, Lipski also argues that there is an element of racism linked to the term. He points out that this term is used mostly to refer to the way Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans and Dominicans speak, and

rarely if ever does one hear Spanglish used in conjunction with expatriates from Spain or Southern Cone nations, whose population is perceived as “white”, thus suggesting an element of racism coupled with the xenophobia that deplores any sort of linguistic and cultural hybridity. (Lipski 2008: 39)

On the other hand, not everyone agrees with Otheguy, Stern and Lipski. One of the scholars who seems to think that Spanglish is an appropriate term to describe the phenomenon is Ed Morales, the writer of *Living in Spanglish*:

Why Spanglish? There is no better metaphor for what mixed race cultures means than a hybrid language, an informal code: the same sort of linguistic construction that defines different classes in a society can also come to define something outside it, a social construction with different rules. Spanglish is what we speak, but it is also who we Latinos are, and how we act, and how we perceive the world. (Morales 2002: 3).

This quotation and the name of his publication make it clear that Morales prefers the use of Spanglish when referring to what he calls a “hybrid language” and “an informal code”. However, it also becomes clear that his definition of the term does not only include the linguistic aspects, but it also includes cultural and ethnical elements. This is reminiscent of Stavans’ points of view presented above.

Otheguy and Stern also call attention to other understandings of the term: “the term is used positively as a badge of bicultural identity by some scholars in positions of leadership in the Latino community” (2010: 96), referring to Ana Zelia Zentella<sup>2</sup>. Likewise, Lipski points to the study conducted by Zentella, which: “demonstrated that younger Puerto Rican children in New York and other cities of the Northeastern United States are beginning to adopt the word “Spanglish” with pride, to refer explicitly to code switching.” (2007a: 208).

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<sup>2</sup> Ana Celia Zentella is profesor emeritus specialized in U.S. Latino varieties of Spanish and English, Spanglish, and language socialization in Latino families. She has published *Growing up Bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York* (Blackwell, 1997).

Additionally, Otheguy and Stern state that “it has also been actively promoted by literary scholars writing for the general public” (Otheguy and Stern 2010: 86), referring to Stavans.

Even though Otheguy, Stern point out the positive attitudes toward the term Spanglish, they go on to proclaim that it is mostly used to “disparage Latinos in the USA and to cast aspersions on their ways of speaking.” (Otheguy and Stern 2010: 86) Lipski too concludes that this term is inappropriate because it “does not meet the definitions of true mixed or intertwined languages” (2008: 70) and because it “is an overly facile catchphrase that has been used to refer to so many disparate and inaccurately described language phenomena as to have become essentially meaningless”. (Ibid.)

In summary, it is clear that the two camps in the debate have different opinions about what the term entails in terms of associations and consequently have different views about how the term should be used. In this thesis I will refrain from using the term Spanglish for two different reasons. To begin, due to the controversy and the derogatory connotations pointed out by Lipski, Otheguy and Stern and to the possible element of racism linked to the term, it was deemed inappropriate to use the term in the present thesis. The second reason is that the aim of the thesis chiefly concerns the linguistic phenomena related to the term, such as *code switching*, *borrowing*, *calques*, etc. Therefore, in order to be as specific as possible, linguistic terms describing the ongoing processes were deemed more suitable and precise.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

Two central concepts that are highly relevant in the present context are *language contact* and *bilingualism*. A broad definition of *language contact* is “the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time.” (Thomason 2001: 1). The languages emphasized in the present thesis are Spanish and English, and the relevant place in this context is the United States, more specifically Bushwick, a Latino neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York City (cf. section 3.1.2.2). The history of language contact between Spanish and English in the United States goes back several generations.

When two languages are in contact, a usual consequence is bilingualism, and Appel and Muysken state that “language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism.” (1987: 1). According to Appel and Muysken there are two types of bilingualism: an individual bilingualism, and a societal bilingualism (ibid.). *The International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* defines a bilingual individual as “someone who controls two or more languages” (Frawley et.al. 2003: 223), and continues to say that there are many degrees of bilingualism at the micro-level. When presenting bilingualism at the macro-level, i.e. the societal-level, the encyclopedia informs us that the situation is

more complex, because it can refer to a wide range of entities – including speech communities, schools, and governments. Important here is the degree and nature of functional separation granted the two languages within these groups. (Ibid.)

In this context the relevant entity is *speech community*, since the material has been collected in the Latino community Bushwick, Brooklyn (cf. section 3.1.2.2).

The main language contact phenomena that will be dealt with in the present thesis are *borrowing* and *code switching*, which both are said to be results of language contact and bilingualism: “when two languages come into contact in a situation of stable bilingualism, both borrowing and code switching are normal events.” (Lipksi 2008: 230). In this thesis *borrowing* and *code switching* is referred to using the collective term *language mixing*.

## 2.3. Borrowing and Code Switching

### 2.3.1. Borrowing

*Borrowing* and *loanword* refer to a linguistic process where words from one language are taken up by another language. Myers-Scotton states that the term *borrowing* came before the term *loanword*: “borrowings were recognized as mostly lexical items and came to be known as loanwords.” (2002: 234). Consequently it is assumed that these two terms refer to the same phenomenon. In this thesis *borrowing* will hereafter be used to refer to this language contact phenomenon.

To get a clear idea about what this language contact phenomenon is, we will look at two definitions. First, Li Wei defines *borrowing* as “the taking over of linguistic forms (usually lexical items) by one language from another, either temporarily or permanently.” (2007: 511) Thomason defines it as:

The type of interference that occurs when imperfect learning plays no role in the interference process – that is, when people who introduce interference features into the receiving language are fluent speaker of the receiving language and know at least the relevant aspects of the source language. (2001: 259)

These two definitions tell us that *borrowing* refers to a linguistic phenomenon where words are borrowed from a donor language to a recipient language. It also becomes clear that the use of the verb *borrow* (and the noun *loan* in the term *loanword*) in this respect is metaphorical, as these words rarely are returned. Additionally, both of these definitions underline that for a word to be classified as a *borrowing* it is required that it be rooted in some way in the recipient language. This is made clear as the first definition focuses on “taking over linguistic forms”, and the second definition brings up the fact that “imperfect learning plays no role”. It is also worth mentioning that the borrowing process is not equal, as the donor language usually is the language with the most prestige, and the recipient language is the language with less prestige (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006: 209). This will be taken up again and discussed in section 2.4.

In this thesis the term *borrowing* will be used according to Carol Myers-Scotton’s description of *lexical borrowing*. In her model *borrowing* is used to refer to lexical elements, as opposed to grammatical elements (cf. 2006: 209), consequently referring to this phenomenon as *lexical borrowing*. In her presentation there are two principal sub-categories



of *borrowing*, which are *direct* and *indirect borrowing*. *Direct borrowing* can either be classified as *core* or *cultural borrowing*. *Indirect borrowings* are categorized as *calque/loan translation*, *loanblend* or *loanshift*. This hierarchy is illustrated in figure 2.1.

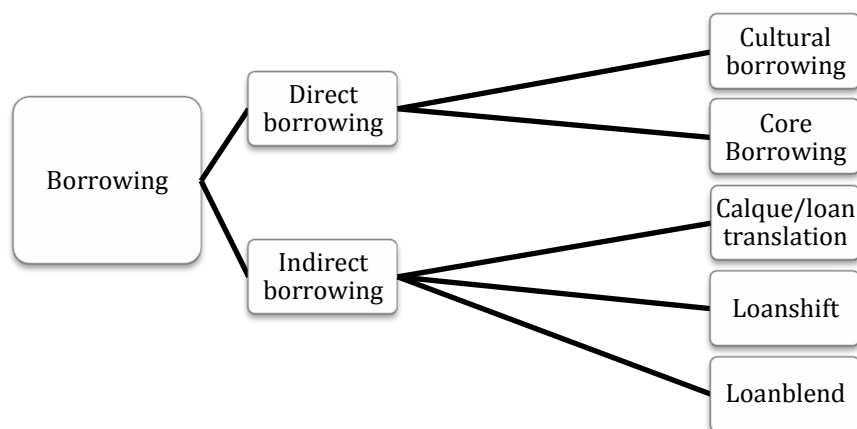


Figure 2.1 Illustration of *borrowing* and its sub-categories (Myers-Scotton 2006: 209-218).

Figure 2.1 shows that *borrowing* is the main category, and that the first distinction is made between *direct* and *indirect borrowing*. One of the sub-categories of *direct borrowing* is *cultural borrowing*. These *borrowings* “are words that fill gaps in the recipient language’s store of words because they stand for objects or concepts new to the language’s culture” (Myers-Scotton 2006: 212). Myers-Scotton exemplifies this category with “the versions of the English *automobile* or *car* because most cultures did not have such motorized vehicles before contact with Western cultures.” (Ibid.) The other sub-category of *direct borrowing* is *core borrowing*. This takes place when an already existing word in the recipient language is duplicated using a word from the borrowed language. Myers-Scotton exemplifies this phenomenon with the situation in Turkey in the 1920s, when Arabic words were replaced with Turkish-based words (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006: 214).

*Indirect borrowing* has the three sub-categories *calques*, *loanshift* and *loanblend*. *Calques*, also referred to as *loan translations*, often consist of more than one word, since the borrowed element is “how that language conveys a particular notion.” (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006: 218). This process usually occurs in (idiomatic) expressions, and examples of this phenomenon is the Norwegian word *skyskraper*, which is an obvious calque on the English *skyscraper*, and the Dutch expression *er voor gaan*, which is a translation of the English *to go for it* (ibid.). *Loanshift* is when “speakers borrow the phonological form of a word, but give it a different meaning from its original.” (ibid.). Myers-Scotton exemplifies this process referring to how Spanish and French have borrowed English gerunds, changing their meaning, e.g. “*le shampooing* is the product (a bottle of shampoo), not the process” (ibid.). *Loanblend*,

sometimes called *hybrid* is a word that consists of “input from both the donor and the recipient language.” (Myers-Scotton 2006: 219). Myers-Scotton exemplifies this process with the word *grandfather*, which consists of the English *father* and the French *grand*. (ibid.)

## 2.3.2. Code Switching

The term *code switching* consists of the two words *code* and *switching*, and the following quotation from Woodlard tells us that the term *code* can refer to languages, as well as dialects and registers:

The topic of codeswitching is relevant to all speech communities that have linguistic repertoires comprising more than one way of speaking. Code switching can occur between forms recognized as distinct languages, or between dialects, registers, “levels” such as politeness in Javanese, or styles of a single language. (Woodlard 2004: 74).

In this thesis, however, the focus will be on the switching between the two languages Spanish and English. A look in the glossary of the book *Language Contact. An Introduction* will provide a full definition of *code switching*:

The use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker with the same people in the same conversation (...) the term includes both switches from one language to another at sentence boundaries (intersentential switching) and switches within a single sentence (intrasentential switching). The latter is sometimes called code-mixing. (Thomason 2001: 262)

Thomason gives a broad definition of the term, which is that *code switching* refers to switching between languages in the same conversation. The definition also introduces two significant sub-categories, i.e. *intersentential* and *intrasentential code switching*. As pointed out by Thomason, *intersentential switching* happens outside, or between the sentence boundaries, as *inter* in latin means ‘between’. *Intrasentential switching* happens within the same clause or sentence, as *intra* means ‘inside’. The former type can also be referred to as *extrasentential code switching*, and the latter type is sometimes referred to as *code mixing* (cf. Thomason 2001: 132). For the purposes of this paper, these two sub-categories will be referred to as *extrasentential* and *intrasentential switching*. This is simply to avoid confusion since these terms are more contrasting in their form than *intersentential* and *intrasentential*.

To illustrate these sub-categories of *code switching*, some examples from the spoken data will be included. Example 2.1 illustrates the first type, *extrasentential code switching*:

- 2.1. Julieta: (...) **so**, si algo te pasa ellos (..) y te pueden ayudar sin matarte, **it's a tracking system**  
*so, if anything happens to you they (..) and they can help you without killing you, it's a tracking system* (examples 2076-2078 from the corpus)

In this example *it's a tracking system* is a complete sentence on its own, and is thus categorized as an *extrasentential switch*, because it happens between sentence boundaries. Another important, and anticipatory comment to make regarding this example is that it illustrates a second switch, i.e. the discourse marker *so*. This is a particularly challenging switch to categorize as it can either be a *borrowing*, or an *intrasentential switch*. A discussion about the ambiguous boundaries between *borrowing* and *code switching* is found in section 2.1.3.

The second sub-category is *intrasentential code switching*, and is also exemplified with an utterance from the spoken data collected:

- 2.2. Maria: (...) si aquí hay, o sea, **the difference is** que aquí todo el mundo sabe que hay cameras por todos lados (...)  
*yes, here, there is, like, the difference is that here everyone knows that there are cameras everywhere* (examples 767-769 from the corpus)

The Spanish *o sea*, which means something like 'I mean' or 'like', introduces this switch and the English part of the sentence is the subject and the copular verb of a sentence. It is clear that this switch occurs within the sentence mid-clause, and not outside it or between two sentences.

### 2.3.3. Code switching vs. Borrowing

As mentioned in the previous section, the lines between *code switching* and *borrowing* are not always easy to draw, and this distinction has been a subject of discussion (cf. Woodlard 2004: 82, Myers-Scotton 2002: 41, 153-154, Auer in Heller 2007: 326-331). Lipski emphasizes this discussion and even suggests the use of the term *momentary lexical insertions*: "even the notion of what constitutes intrasentential code switching vs. borrowing or momentary lexical

insertion must also be further explored.” (2005: 13). To exemplify the ambiguous boundaries between the two categories, an example from the spoken data is used:

- 2.3. Juan: no no, eh, **so**, cuando yo le pedí que yo quería hacer algo, digo si si, vamos a hacerlo  
no, no, eh, so, when I asked him because I wanted to do something, I say, yes, yes, let's do it (1284)

In example 2.3 there is an instance of the aforementioned discourse marker *so*, which is an interesting example because it can be said that the word *so* could be characterized as a *borrowing*, or as *intrasentential code switching*. In his paper on “so-insertion”, Lipski argues that *so* can be seen as “a limiting case of intrasentential code switching” (cf. 2005: 4), but he also refers to other scholars who have chosen to label it as a *borrowing*; e.g. Mendieta and Silva-Corvalán (cf. Lipski 2005: 4-5). The debate about the discourse marker *so* tells us that the distinction between *borrowing* and *code switching* is not always clear-cut: *so* cannot be incorporated in the Spanish lexicon, but some scholars still categorize it as a *borrowing*.

In this connection Poplack’s *nonce borrowing* should be mentioned. Muysken describes this term as “elements [that] are borrowed on the spur of the moment, without having any status yet in the receiving speech community.” (2000: 72), and thus *nonce borrowing* seems to be an appropriate category for *so* above. However, according to Muysken this is a controversial term (2000: 69), and he suggests that elements borrowed “on the spur of the moment”, such as *so* in example 2.3, be categorized as *insertion*, i.e. “insertion of material from one language into a structure from the other language.” (2000: 3) This category is one of the sub-categories of *intrasentential switching* in Muysken’s theoretical model, which will be introduced in section 2.3.

Li Wei and Moyer claim that *borrowing* and *code switching* are preferably seen as part of a continuum, as “loans start off as code-switches and then become generalized in the borrowing language, until they are recognized and used even by monolinguals” (Li and Moyer 2008: 60). This boils down to a question of the relationship between the language contact phenomenon *code switching* and contact-induced change: does *code switching* always lead to contact-induced change? According to Sarah G. Thomason this is a controversial issue, and there are strong claims about the relationship between *code switching* and changes in a language:

At one extreme are scholars who deny any connection between the two – who claim, in effect, that code-switched elements will never turn into borrowings; at the other extreme are scholars who believe that code switching is the only mechanism through which foreign morphemes are incorporated into a language. (Thomason 2001: 132)

Thomason goes on to say that either of the extremes “can be made to fit all the available data” (ibid.). In Thomason’s presentation of *code switching* as a mechanism of contact-induced change, she distinguishes between code switches and permanent interference. In this presentation she considers *borrowing* to be permanent interference:

“(...) it has been proposed that code-switched elements are not integrated into to receiving language’s structure, whereas borrowed elements are nativized – adapted to the structure of the receiving language.” (2001: 134).

Poplack and Meechan also support this when they distinguish between *code switches*, *borrowings*, *established loans* and *nonce borrowings*, and define them as follows: a *code switch* is when sentences and sentence fragments are inserted, *borrowings* are morphologically and syntactically adapted lexical elements, *establishes loans* are integrated words, and *nonce borrowing* is more or less the same as established loans, except the word is not used by monolinguals (cf. Thomason 2001: 134). Peter Auer elegantly summarizes this discussion in the following quotation:

There is a continuum of insertions with ad hoc (nonce) borrowing at one extreme, and sedimented borrowings (words which are habitually used by a certain speaker or even in a bilingual community) at the other extreme. Only in the second case is the borrowing part of the ‘system’ of the receiving variety (i.e. shared knowledge in the speech community). (Auer in Heller 2007: 327).

He goes on to say that the “intermediate positions on this scale” are the most challenging to categorize, and that many researchers have argued that there is no clear-cut boundary between *lexical loans* and *nonce borrowings* (ibid.).

As this presentation shows, many terms are used when dealing with this particular topic. Most researchers, however, seem to classify borrowings as permanent changes in the recipient language, meaning that for a word to be categorized as a *loanword* or a *borrowing* it should be established somehow in the recipient language:

Code switching is the use of two languages in one clause or utterance. As such code switching is different from lexical borrowing, which involves the incorporation of

lexical elements from one language in the lexicon of another language. (Muysken in Li 2007: 289)

In conclusion, since Muysken's three-fold categorization of *intrasentential code switching* will be the main theoretical model applied on the data, non-assimilated single words in English have been classified as *intrasentential code switches*, and elements incorporated into the Spanish language will be interpreted as *borrowings*. In the following sections the central theoretical frameworks concerning *intrasentential code switching* (i.e. Poplack, Myers-Scotton and Muysken) will be presented in more detail.

## 2.3. Previous Research on Code Switching

According to Muysken most of the research conducted on *code switching* has been dedicated to finding grammatical constraints on *code switching* in general. He summarizes three different stages the field has undergone (2000: 12), which will be summarized in this section.

The first studies on *code switching* were conducted in the 1970s, and they were mostly focused on switching between Spanish and English by Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the United States. This first stage was characterized by the use of particular constructions to find grammatical constraints, however it lacked an overall theoretical perspective.

The second stage started in the 1980s and aimed at finding universal constraints on *code switching*. According to Muysken, Shana Poplack contributed to the research in the 1980s with her studies on Spanish-English *code switching* among Puerto Ricans, (cf. Poplack 1980) suggesting that there is linear equivalence between the languages involved at the point of the switch. She provided the following definition of *code switching*:

the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance. (Muysken 2000: 14).

Along with this definition she proposed two universal constraints on *code switching*. The first constraint was called *The Equivalence Constraint* and proposed that switching can only occur if it does not violate the grammar of either language involved in the switch. The second constraint was called *The Free Morpheme Constraint*, and it suggested that switches could not occur before or after bound morphemes. (cf. Poplack 1980: 285-286). In summary, Poplack

was interested in the syntax of *code switching*, and her definition suggests that she interpreted *code switching* as alternations between languages.

The third and present stage of research is and has been characterized by the quest for new perspectives on *code switching*. This is where Carol Myers-Scotton and her studies on Swahili/English *code switching* come in. Her definition of *code switching* is:

Code-switching is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation. (in Muysken 2000: 15).

This definition introduces two central concepts in Myers-Scotton's research, i.e. *Embedded Language* and *Matrix Language*, which are central elements of analysis in The *Matrix Language Frame Model*. In this model "the matrix language constituent order and matrix language functional categories are assumed to dominate a clause." (Muysken 2000: 16). Myers-Scotton describes the *Matrix Language* as the "one language [that] supplies the main grammatical frame for a clause containing words from two (or more) languages." (2006: 235). In this model there is also an *Embedded Language*, which is the language that contributes content elements (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006: 235). In other words, the idea behind this model is that there is always a *Matrix Language* and an *Embedded Language* in bilingual discourse.

Within this model Myers-Scotton suggests two constraints in which the relationship between the *Matrix Language* and the *Embedded Language* is emphasized. The first constraint is called the *Morpheme Order Principle*. According to this principle the word order of a code switched sentence will follow the rules of the *Matrix Language* when there is at least one word from the *Embedded Language*, and any number of words from the *Matrix Language* (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006: 244). The second principle is *The System Morpheme Principle*, and it states that all system morphemes will come from the *Matrix Language* (ibid.)

Muysken criticizes the Matrix Language Frame Model when he makes the observation that:

The model proposed rests on the assumption that mixed sentences have an identifiable base or matrix language (ML), something that may or may not hold for individual bilingual corpora. (Muysken 2000: 16)

Rephrased, Muysken points to the fact that this model it may not be applicable to all bilingual corpora, since it might not always be easy to identify the *Matrix Language*.

Muysken provides six possible approaches available when identifying the *Matrix Language*. He calls the first approach a "discourse-oriented way of determining the base

language”. Here, the matrix is defined using a conversion criterion, i.e. the matrix is the language in which the conversation is generally realized (2000: 64). Muysken calls the second approach *left-to-right parsing*, where “the first word or a set of words in the sentence determines the base language” (2000: 65). The third approach is to count morphemes, and the language with the most morphemes is the *Matrix Language*. The fourth approach is related to psycholinguistics, and “the language most activated for the speaker” (2000: 67) is the *Matrix Language*. The fifth approach is a structural approach, and it lets the main verb of the sentence determine the matrix. The sixth and final approach is based on constituent structure, and “the highest element in the tree would determine the language for the whole tree, this would often be the inflection on the finite verb (...) In subordinate clauses this would be the complementizer.” (2000: 67)

In addition to *The Matrix Language Frame Model* Myers-Scotton proposed a model she calls *The Markedness Model*, which is applicable when attempting to explain why *code switching* occurs (Myers-Scotton 2006: 158). It is an identity-related explanation of *code switching*, (Garafanga in Auer and Li 2007: 283) and the idea behind this model is that interlocutors make choices in bilingual communication. These choices can either be *unmarked* or *marked*: when linguistic choices are expected and in coherence with the communicative situation they are *unmarked*, and when the choices are unexpected and not in coherence with the communicative situation, they are *marked* (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006: 159-161). When the choices are *marked* Myers-Scotton presents a *Negotiation Principle* to explain why interlocutors may choose to make in-coherent communicative choices:

Choose the *form* of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange. (Myers-Scotton 1993: 114).

In other words, when a linguistic choice is *marked* it is because the speaker is indexes rights and obligations, and thus expresses her/his wishes concerning “rights and obligations”. This is interpreted as negotiation of one’s persona and relations to the other participants in the conversation (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006: 160). On the other hand, when *code switching* is *unmarked* the interlocuteurs

are not satisfied with either the identity associated with speaking (one language) or that associated with speaking (the other) alone when they are conversing with each other. Rather they see the rewards in indexing both identities for themselves. (...)



Thus codeswitching becomes their unmarked choice for making salient simultaneously two or more positively evaluated identities.” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 122).

This theoretical model will prove to be relevant in the present thesis because I will argue that the spoken *code switching* recorded for this thesis is in fact generally *unmarked* for the reasons presented above.

In summary, there are two principal models for *code switching*. Poplack’s model is a syntactic and linear model, where the idea is that bilinguals go in and out of the two languages. Myers-Scotton’s model is lexical and sees *code switching* as ‘insertional’, i.e. one language (*Embedded Language*) is inserted into the other language (*Matrix Language*). In addition, the *Markedness Model* proposed by Myers-Scotton is valid when attempting to explain the reasons for *code switching*. As we will see in the next section, Muysken suggests a model that attempts to merge Poplack and Myers-Scotton’s structural models.

## 2.4. Pieter Muysken’s Theoretical Model

Due to the complexity of language contact phenomena, Pieter Muysken (2000) provides a suggestion for how it is possible to organize bilingual data using different categories. His model incorporates the theoretical models presented above in section 2.1.3, and he distinguishes three distinct cognitive processes that go on in what he refers to as *code mixing* i.e. *intrasentential code switching*. According to Li Wei and Moyer these cognitive processes “have an empirical reality in actual bilingual language use” (2008: 20), which is why it was deemed appropriate as a basis for the analyses in Chapter 4 and 5.

The first process in Muysken’s analysis is labeled *insertion*, and has already been mentioned in section 2.1.3. As mentioned, this process is defined as “insertions of material (lexical items or entire conversations) from one language into a structure from the other language.” (2000: 3). The idea that elements from one language are inserted into the structure of a different language presents clear connotations to Myers-Scotton’s *Matrix Language Frame Model*. Muysken argues that in Myers-Scotton’s model, *code switching* is seen as foreign elements from the *Embedded Language* inserted into the *Matrix Language*. He also points out the similarities between *insertion* and *borrowing* when he states that this category is “conceived as something akin to borrowing” (ibid.). Additionally he states that the inserted

element can be a lexical or phrasal category, and that “the difference would be the size and type of element inserted, e.g. noun vs. NP.” (2001: 3).

The second process Muysken operates within is *alternation*. This process is described as “akin to the switching of codes between turns or utterances” (2000: 4). Muysken uses the *code-mixing* to refer to *intrasentential switching*, thus avoiding the term *code switching* as a general term, since *alternation* is the only process that in fact can be characterized as switching (cf. Muysken 2000: 4). This process is placed in alignment with Poplack since she “view[s] the constraints on mixing in terms of compatibility or equivalence of the languages involved at switch point.” (ibid.) Since Poplack’s model is linear and syntactic, and *code switching* in her model is seen as the *alternation* between languages, the associations to this process are evident.

The final process is *congruent lexicalization*, and Muysken defines it as the use of “material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure.” (2000: 3). This is a situation where the two languages involved “share a grammatical structure, which can be filled lexically with elements from either language.” (2001: 6). Muysken also points out that this category is symptomatic for Spanish-English *code switching* because switching between Spanish and English could be “interpreted as a combination of alternations and insertions, but the going back and forth suggests that there may be more going on, and that the elements from the two languages are inserted, as constituents or as words, into a shared structure.” (2000: 6-7) In this respect he draws parallels between *congruent lexicalization* and style or register shifting and claims that monolingual linguistic variation is a limiting case of congruent lexicalization (ibid).

The theoretical frameworks concerning *borrowing* and *code switching* are merged and illustrated in figure 2.2:

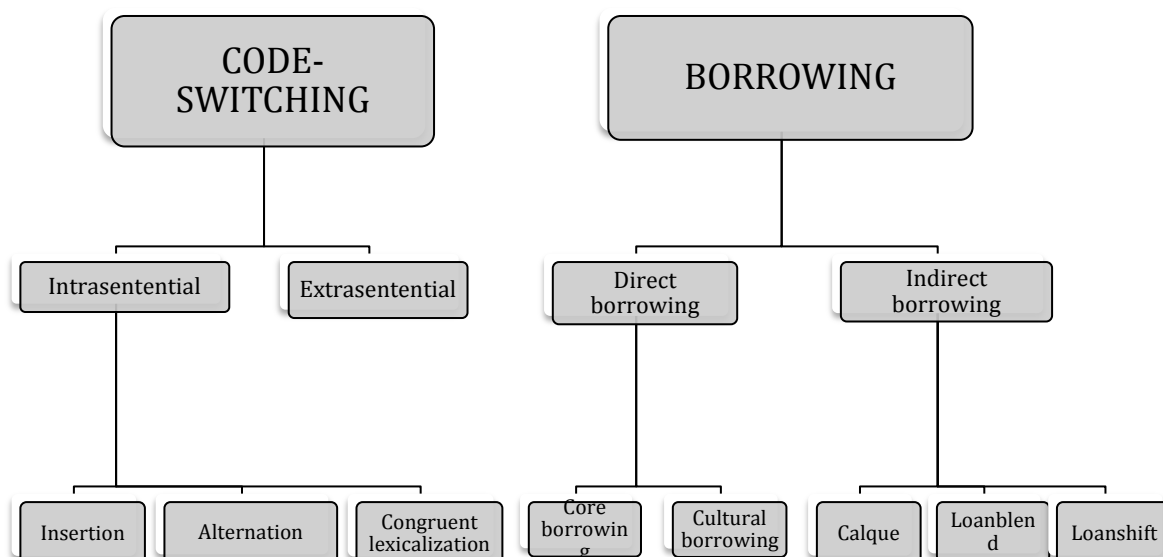


Figure 2.2 Illustration *code switching* and *borrowing* and their sub-categories.

## 2.5. Spanish-English Code Switching

Before applying these models on the data collected, some additional comments about the characteristics of Spanish-English *code switching* are in order. *Code switching* between Spanish and English by bilingual Hispanics in the United States is in a special situation with regard to frequency. According to Lipski, due to the typological similarities between Spanish and English, fluent *intrasentential code switching* is easier compared to switching between languages with very different typology: “Code switching within the same sentence is facilitated when the languages in contact share the same basic syntactic patterns.” (Lipski 2008: 230). Spanish-English language mixing might be more facilitated due to the combination of their similar typology and *The Equivalence Constraint* (cf. section 2.2.). Muysken partially supports this when he describes *code switching* between Spanish and English in the following manner:

Code-mixing between Spanish and English exemplifies a case where mixing involves considerable linear equivalence (except for the noun/adjective order) but largely separate vocabulary (particularly among high frequency words) but some important word order differences, at least at the clause level. (2000: 123).

Keep in mind that Muysken refers to *intrasentential code switching* as *code-mixing*. While Muysken does acknowledge the fact that there are considerable similarities between English

and Spanish, he also points out significant differences. Nevertheless, these points might help explain why some language pairs are more susceptible to *congruent lexicalization*.

Since research on *code switching* started, it has gradually become clear that it is governed by linguistic factors; it has been seen as systematic, and the idea that the practice is the result of poor language skills has been contested. Myers-Scotton states that her two principles *The System Morpheme Principle* and *The Morpheme Order Principle* usually, and with only a few exceptions, are supported in several datasets with *code switching* (cf. 2006: 249). She continues to say that this goes against the idea that *code switching* is “broken or bad language” (ibid.) It is interesting to see this in relation to the discussion of the term Spanglish in section 1.3, i.e. when the practice of switching between Spanish and English is called Spanglish, it is still seen by many as a lack of linguistic proficiency in one or both languages, but when called *code switching* it is generally seen as something positive:

Despite the important differences among them, in all the prevailing social analyses, codeswitching bilinguals have shed their earlier image as incompetent monolinguals. They have come to look like linguistic Fred Astaires, tapping out multiple codes on flashing footings, dancing circles around monolinguals. (Woodlard 2004: 82)

The reason why bilingual Hispanics in the United States, which in many cases means “code switching bilinguals”, are seen by the general public as less competent language users might be the social status of Spanish, and Hispanics in the United States. The term *diglossia* is significant in this context. *Diglossia* is “a situation where two different varieties of a language or two distinct languages co-occur in a *speech community*, each with a distinct range of social functions.” (Li 2007: 512). According to John J. Gumperz, in these types of communities, bilinguals tend to see the language with inferior social function as *we code* and the language with superior social function as a *they code*:

The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the ‘we code’ and become associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the ‘they code’ associated with more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations. (Gumperz 1992: 66).

It is possible to draw parallels between the terms ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ to the *Markedness Model*. When Myers-Scotton describes *code switching* as *unmarked* she uses the term ‘in-group’ to describe a situation where *code switching* is *unmarked* (2006: 167), i.e. when the interlocutors in the conversation are all ‘in-group’, and thus bilingual in the

languages in question, it can be argued that switching is expected, and thus *unmarked*. In terms of motivations for *code switching* Appel and Muysken propose 6 functions it might have. The third function they propose is called *the expressive function*, and Spanish-English language mixing in New York (especially among Puerto Ricans) is used as an example of this function. This function is described as a situation where “speakers emphasize a mixed identity through the use of two languages in the same discourse.” (1987: 119), and their claim is that *code switching* in Latino-communities in New York is “a mode of speech by itself, and individual switches no longer have a discourse function.” (ibid.)

In the following quotation the status of Spanish in the United States is emphasized as a crucial factor concerning the nature of Spanish-English *code switching*:

The qualitative nature of Spanish-English code switching in the United States is intimately bound up with the history of Spanish-speaking groups in the United States and the status of Spanish as a minority language, often officially persecuted and even more often associated with socioeconomic marginality. (Lipski 2005: 8).

He goes on to state that in bilingual communities where one language is sociolinguistically dominant, “code switching is more frequent from the subordinate language to the dominant language, rather than vice versa.” (ibid.). This is supported by the data collected for this thesis, as it mostly consists of Spanish speech with switches into English, i.e. with a Spanish matrix. Moreover, this can be seen in relation to what was said about *borrowing* in section 2.1.1., i.e. that the donor language usually is the high-prestige language, and the recipient language is the low-prestige language. Lipski continues to describe the situation of Spanish in the United States in the following manner:

Throughout the United States, Spanish is sociolinguistically subordinated to English, regardless of the proportion of the population which speaks each language. Among Spanish-English bilinguals from the United States, comparatively few have had formal education in Spanish, and many have been subject to ethnic and linguistic discrimination, and have been coerced into embracing Anglo-American language and cultural values. (Lipski 2005: 8-9)

This quotation illustrates the situation of Spanish in the United States and it might say something about why *code switching* between Spanish and English in particular has been seen by the public as something only less proficient bilinguals engage in. Nevertheless, as stated previously, since the mid-twentieth century the characteristics of *code switching* have

undergone a change from being seen as a result of incompetence to being perceived as a linguistic skill (cf. Woodlard 2004: 90).

### 3. Methodology and Data

The material used in the present thesis consists of both spoken and written data. The following section presents these two components starting with the self-compiled corpus of spoken data, which has been the most meticulous and time-consuming stage in terms of methodology and data collection. This part (3.1.) consists of several points, beginning with a presentation of the principal methods used: the qualitative method and fieldwork. Thereafter the actual fieldwork is described commenting on the following points: 1) aims for the fieldwork 2) methods used for finding informants 3) presentation of the informants including an account of their linguistic proficiency 4) methods used when collecting the data, and 5) how the data was transcribed. Once the spoken data has been presented, the written data is described.

#### 3.1. Spoken Data

The spoken data consists of material collected during a 6-week stay in Bushwick, Brooklyn, NY. The data collected contains material from two groups of informants: 3 hours and 21 minutes of speech from one group (two informants), and approximately 30 minutes from another group (two informants). The data has been transcribed, which has resulted in 80 written pages. The subsequent sections will describe the methods used to collect this data.

##### 3.1.1. The Qualitative Research Method

The overall method used when collecting the spoken data has been qualitative. According to Denzin and Lincoln, an opinion also shared by other scholars (e.g. Dörnyei 2007: 35), qualitative research can be difficult to define clearly because it is not based on its own theory or paradigm, and it does not have a set of methods or practices that are only used for qualitative research. There are, however, some specific characteristics worth noting.

First this method is emergent in its nature; nothing is predicted; the study is kept open, and it is flexible. The second characteristic is that it can be applied to a wide range of data

types, all of which are transcribed and worked within its written form. Third, qualitative research is usually conducted in a natural setting. Fourth, a qualitative study usually aims at exploring the participants' views of the situation being studied. The fifth characteristic is that it generally has a small sample size. Finally, the sixth characteristic is that this type of research is primarily interpretive (cf. Dörnyei 2007: 37-38).

With regard to the present project some of these characteristics play a more significant role than others. First, the process of writing this thesis can indeed be characterized as emergent in that the research questions and the design of the thesis have been changed more than once in the course of writing. In other words, the approach to the process of writing the present thesis has been flexible and open. Second, the spoken data has been transcribed and thus been analyzed in its written form. It has also been collected in its natural settings. The sample size is somewhat small with its four informants resulting in 80 pages of transcribed spoken data. Third, the analysis is interpretive, not least due to some unclear boundaries between the categories used in the analysis. This is particularly relevant when it comes to questions concerning the borrowing-code switching controversy. The self-compiled corpus of spoken data used includes various examples that can be deemed to be both *borrowing* and *code switching*, thus interpretation was necessary when conducting analyzing the data.

When determining whether an alien element in bilingual communication is a *borrowing* or a *code switch* two criteria are possible. The first criterion is psycholinguistic in its nature. It states that it is not necessary to be a bilingual in the donor language to use a *borrowing* (cf. Myers-Scotton 2002: 41), meaning that it is possible to consult non-bilinguals to see whether or not the word in question has been rooted in the borrowing language. The second criterion is the use of a dictionary to check if a word has entered the lexicon of the borrowing language. Since I do not have non-bilingual informants in my data I cannot use the psycholinguistic criterion to verify whether a word is a *borrowing* or a *switch*. Thus the first criterion will be used. The online Spanish dictionary *Word Reference* will be consulted and seen as an authority in this respect. Granted that new words are entering lexicon constantly, this criterion should be used with some caution. The use of an online dictionary might help the validity of the analysis, but it is still challenged because the psycholinguistic criterion is not available.

Even though the present thesis does fulfill many of the characteristics of qualitative research, there are some characteristics that have not proven to be relevant. For one, the variety of types of data is not as diverse as is usually the case in qualitative research: the primary material used in this investigation consists of language interactions and interviews,



but data types such as field notes, journals and diary entries have not been used. Secondly, the fourth characteristic presented above is not prominent in this project either since the focal point is not the informants' views of the linguistic phenomenon being studied.

Even so, as four out of six characteristics are descriptive of the methods used in this investigation, it is safe to say that the methodology used is best described as qualitative. Nevertheless, considering that the material used will be dealt with using numerical data, the quantitative method will also to some extent be present in terms of quantifying characteristics of the informants' data.

Li and Moyer claim that the “qualitative approach assumes fieldwork” (2008: 27) as both of these methods prefer “ongoing language choice practices and naturally occurring data” (ibid.). Since the qualitative method is closely linked to fieldwork, fieldwork was conducted. Consequently a description of this method of collecting data will be described below along with the two central concepts empiricism and case study.

### 3.1.2. Fieldwork: an Empirical Multiple Case Study

Since the material used in the present thesis was collected in its natural environment, fieldwork is one of the central methods that have been used in the project. A central term in this context is empiricism, i.e. empirical data, which essentially means that the study is “based on observation” (Johnstone 2000: 24).

Considering that the low number of informants, the design of the study will be that of a case study, which is defined as “the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case.” (Dörnyei 2007:151). Case studies generally have few informants, and do not aim to say anything general about patterns in a certain community (cf. Li and Moyer 2008: 98). Dörnyei gives an account of Stake's three different types of case study, wherein the first two types are concerned with only one particular case. The third, however, includes more than one case and is called “multiple or collective case study”, which is defined as:

(c) the “multiple or collective case study” where there is even less interest in one particular case, and a number of cases are studied jointly in order to investigate a phenomenon or general condition (Dörnyei, 2007: 152).

This investigation is indeed a multiple/collective case study in that it aims to describe the phenomenon *code switching* between Spanish and English based on spoken data from four informants and a published short story. The results from these kinds of investigations can be used as counter evidence to some generalizations made in previous studies, show what is otherwise possible, or propose new hypotheses for further research (cf. Li and Moyer, 2008: 99). However, due to the low number of informants, and this cannot be stressed too much, the generalizability of the project is challenged.

The qualitative approach is used because of the nature of the topic I wished to investigate. The investigation was carried out using fieldwork as its basis because *language mixing* is first and foremost a spoken phenomenon. This is also the reason why the use of empirical data is central. A written text with which to contrast the spoken data was used to add another dimension to the project, cf. section 3.2.

### 3.1.2.1. Aims of Fieldwork

The spoken data on which this thesis relies is the result of fieldwork conducted in New York City, specifically in Bushwick, Brooklyn, during a six-week period (from the 31<sup>st</sup> of July until the 12<sup>th</sup> of September 2011). Prior to arriving in New York I had two aims: first and foremost the aim was to collect spoken data from informants who speak both Spanish and English fluently, and then secondly, to conduct interviews with informants and scholars in New York who had done research on the term and notion of Spanglish, or Spanish-English language mixing. A preliminary project description had been written before conducting the fieldwork. In this project description, the aim was to compare Spanish-English *code switching* and *borrowing* in its oral and its written form. As mentioned, this particular aim has remained unchanged throughout the project.

Due to the fact that it is impossible to predict the type of *code switching* that will occur (cf. Li and Moyer 2008: 41), and that I did not have any contact with possible informants prior to my arrival in New York, I was challenged to plan the fieldwork and the present thesis in more detail before actually meeting with the informants in New York. It was not until the data had been collected that the other aims of the research were clearly formulated. This process is described in the following quotation: “Research questions in qualitative approaches are not always generated at the beginning of a research project but sometimes after fieldwork

experience and the collection of some preliminary data.” (Li and Moyer 2008: 28) Thus, the nature of qualitative methods makes the process more flexible and more susceptible to change as it can respond to new details that may become apparent during the process of investigation (cf. Dörnyei 2007: 37).

### 3.1.2.2. Finding Informants

According to John M. Lipski (2005), and as mentioned in section 1.1 above, there are three different groups of bilinguals: 1) fluent bilinguals, 2) Spanish-speaking immigrants who learned English in adolescence or as adults, and 3) native speakers of English who have acquired Spanish as an L2. These different groups do not demonstrate the same tendencies with regard to *code switching*. Initially I was interested in the first group, as I had read that balanced bilinguals tend to use a variety of language contact phenomena when they speak. However, due to the reasons described below, this aim was not accomplished.

Staying in Bushwick, Brooklyn, which was about 70% Hispanic in 2009 (Furmancenter: <http://furmancenter.org/files/sotc/SOC%202010.pdf>), this neighborhood was a good starting point for the fieldwork. The method used to recruit informants was the use of flyers. The flyers were put up in neighborhood coffee shops, asking people to contact me if they considered themselves Spanglish-speakers. The use of the term Spanglish might be deemed problematic, as presented in section 1.2, but considering that most people are not familiar with the linguistics terms used in the thesis (such as *calques*, *borrowings*, *code switching* and *language mixing*), and that it was considered more important that my aims be understood by possible informants, the term Spanglish was used on the flyers. The flyer produced to recruit informants, can be found in appendix I. Once contact was established the linguistic terms were used to a larger extent.

The use of a flyer requesting the help of Spanglish-speakers could be characterized as what is called *typical sampling* by Dörnyei. Typical sampling is when “the researcher selects participants whose experience is typical with regard to the research focus” (2007: 128), and is exactly what was done when I used the topic of the paper as a starting point for finding informants. A disadvantage of this method is that it attracts a certain type of informants, which may have affected the study. One could assume that people who respond to a flyer upon which the word Spanglish appears are generally positive towards the term and the

phenomenon, and that this method would not attract informants who feel ashamed about language mixing. In retrospect, I would say that the flyers, generally speaking, attracted informants with positive attitudes towards the term Spanglish in particular, and language mixing in general.

As a result of the flyers, a total of four people contacted me, but two of them did not in fact end up as informants. One informant refrained from responding to my inquiries, and the second informant contacted me one week before I left New York, rendering it too late for him and his family to help me with recordings. Thus, there were two informants left, and both of them helped me to get in contact with two additional informants. This method of finding informants is called the *snowball-effect* (cf. Scott 2000, in Li and Moyer 2008: 83, and Dörnyei 2007: 129), which is when key respondents are “asked to recruit further participants who are similar to them in some respect central to the investigation.” (Dörnyei 2007: 129).

The methods above have to some extent been applied, but the most dominant method is the *convenience sampling method*, which, as the name suggests, is a method where the researcher uses the informants that are available (cf. Dörnyei 2007: 129). Dörnyei calls this method the “least desirable, but the most common sampling strategy.” (2007: 129), before he goes on to say that there is the advantage that the researcher usually gets willing informants, which in turn leads to a rich dataset (ibid.).

As mentioned, I was Initially looking for balanced bilinguals because previous studies claim that balanced bilinguals tend to switch effectively (cf. Poplack in Li and Moyer 2009: 37). The inquiry about balanced bilinguals was included in the flyer (cf. appendix I), but as Dörnyei points out: “research (and particularly postgraduate research) all too often happens in less-than-ideal circumstances, under considerable time or financial constraints.” (2007:129). The fieldwork in New York lasted only six weeks and it took much time to establish first contact, and then thereafter build a relationship with the informants, rendering it difficult to be more selective. To begin with, because the informants had full-time jobs, it took time to arrange the first meeting after having established contact via mail or phone. Secondly, the actual recordings did not start immediately after the first meeting. Therefore, due to the time it took to establish four willing informants, I could not be as selective as I would have otherwise liked.

Consequently, due to the restrictions on time and resources the informants cannot be characterized as balanced bilinguals. Nevertheless, as it turned out, it could be argued that all of the informants fit into Lipski’s second group, namely Spanish-dominant bilinguals (cf. presentation of the informants below). Lipski makes three claims about this particular group

of bilinguals. The first is that they tend to “switch only at major discourse boundaries such as sentences and paragraphs, usually in response to shifting domains of discourse.” The second claim is: “calques from English are rare”, and the third is “English lexical items are usually inserted in non-assimilated fashion” (Lipski 2005: 1). These three claims will be tested using the spoken data collected for the purposes of this thesis.

### 3.1.2.3. Presentation of Informants

Li and Moyer support Lipski’s view that there are linguistic differences between groups of bilinguals, and refer to Poplack’s research, which has, among other things, found that some types of *code switching* mostly occur in the speech of balanced bilinguals (cf. Li and Moyer 2008: 41). Li and Moyer state that “(...) second language learners and other later-acquired language users are regarded as an important and distinctive group of bilinguals and multilinguals.” (2008: 8). Since most of the literature clearly suggests that there are differences between how different types of bilinguals switch between languages, a section about the methods used to determine the informants’ linguistic proficiency in both of the languages in question is in order.

According to Li and Moyer, one of the methods for determining informants’ linguistic proficiency is self-report, and they determine that “questions like “How proficient are you in Language X?” can safely be asked and used in analysis.” (2008: 37). However, it is also noted that this method should be combined with other methods so that the researcher has better understanding of the informants’ linguistic competence. They mention that informants’ sociolinguistic background has been used successfully in previous studies.

Following Li and Moyer’s advice I asked the informants to fill out a sociolinguistic profile (cf. appendix III) along with the signed consent form (cf. appendix II) before starting the recordings. The questionnaire included questions regarding their age of acquisition of both Spanish and English, self-reported proficiency in both languages, typical daily use in both languages, comfort with *code switching*, description of language choice, language preference, and language attitude. The form is based on a sociolinguistic profile questionnaire in Li and Moyer (cf. 2008: 39), and the informant’s answers are summarized in the following paragraphs.

The first pair of informants is a married couple in their 30's living in Bushwick. For the purposes of this thesis they will be called Maria and Juan. Maria, my primary contact, is an ex-dancer from Venezuela now working as a buyer in Manhattan. Spanish is her mother tongue, and she learned English at age 20. She was born in 1975, which means that she has been speaking English on a daily basis for 16 years. She checked the box for high proficiency in both languages. She typically uses Spanish at home, at work and with her family, and she uses English at work and a bit at home. She also checked the box stating that she is very comfortable with *code switching*, and says that she mostly switches between the two languages when speaking with her husband. Additionally she says that she does not prefer one language to another, but that Spanish would be characterized as beautiful, and English as useful.

Her husband, Juan, my secondary contact, is a photographer whose mother tongue is Spanish. He learned English at age 21 and was born in 1972, which means that he has been speaking English on a daily basis for 18 years. He, like his wife, considers himself highly proficient in both languages. He uses Spanish at home with Maria, and English at work with his coworkers. He also checked the box to say that he is very comfortable with switching languages, and says that he tends to switch between languages at home with his wife. He prefers to speak Spanish, and characterized the two languages in the same way as his wife; Spanish as beautiful, and English as useful.

The second pair of informants are two girlfriends in their 20's, also living in Bushwick. They will be called Julieta and Sofia for the purposes of the thesis. Julieta is my primary contact, and Sofia, her friend, is my secondary contact. Julieta is from Puerto Rico, works as a waitress, and just finished her bachelor's degree in Fine Arts (musical theater). Spanish is her mother tongue and she learned English at age 8, when she moved from Puerto Rico to Miami with her mother. She checked the box for high proficiency in both languages. She mostly uses English, and speaks Spanish only with her family and some friends. She also checked the box for very comfortable when asked how comfortable she was with switching languages. Her preference is English, and she used the same characterization as the married couple, and thinks that Spanish is a beautiful language, and English is useful.

Julieta introduced me to one of her friends, Sofia from the Dominican Republic. She works in a coffee shop, Spanish is her native language, and she learned English at age 10. She checked high proficiency for Spanish and medium proficiency for English. She described her typical daily use of English and Spanish in the same way: at home, at work, with friends and family. She checked the box saying that she is very comfortable with switching languages,

and usually does so with her friends and family. Her preference is Spanish, and thinks that Spanish is both beautiful and useful, and did not describe English.

All of the informants, except Sofia, reported their linguistic proficiency in both English and Spanish as high. Sofia says that her proficiency in English could be characterized as medium. However, the sociolinguistic background would suggest that her English would be at the same level as the Julieta, considering that their age of acquisition is 10 and 8, respectively. Nonetheless, all of the informants can be characterized as *late bilingual* as none of them learned English before the age of seven to nine (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006: 291). Julieta and Sofia could have been characterized as *early bilinguals*, but they will be called *late bilinguals*, and consequently *Spanish-dominant bilinguals* because they are borderline cases.

An aspect to consider in this respect is how the reported vs. the observed linguistic behavior may differ. This is a valid point when it comes to informants' self-report on both their linguistic proficiency and comfort with *code switching*. Li and Moyer emphasize the last case. They suggest that informants who have negative attitudes towards *code switching* might say that they never engage in those types of conversations when they actually do, and vice-versa; informants with positive attitudes might say that they use it more than they actually do (cf. 2008: 37). As mentioned above, the flyer might have attracted informants with general positive attitudes towards *code switching*, which might indicate that they code-switch less than they think.

### 3.1.2.4. Recording

According to Li and Moyer, *code switching*-data is best collected in spontaneous conversations, due to the fact that “code switching is a phenomenon occurring in natural circumstances and the most natural linguistic circumstance is the conversation.” (2008: 44). They go on to state that “the more participants concentrate on the content instead of on the form of what they are saying, the more informal their conversation will be” (ibid.), which in turn makes the conversation more spontaneous. Consequently, the aim was to accomplish this with my four informants, and I ended up using two different methods of collecting data with the two different pairs of informants.

After having met the married couple, it was decided that it would be best if they took it upon themselves to record their speech on their own in their home during the evenings. Li and Moyer state that this is a reliable method:

The presence of a researcher during such conversations [spontaneous] can make the situation less spontaneous, if she or he is an outsider. This can be avoided by asking one of the participants to take care of the recordings. (Li and Moyer 2008: 44)

This was a convenient solution for both parts, especially since they had recording equipment in their home. As indicated in the above quote, the advantage of this kind of recording is that their speech is less likely to be influenced by the researcher's presence. On the other hand, it does not completely eliminate the chances that the conversation turns out less spontaneous, because they might still be influenced by the recording device itself. Nevertheless, this method of collecting data does to a larger extent ensure that the data turn out spontaneous and natural, which is the overall goal when collecting data with *code switching*: "spontaneous and semi-spontaneous conversations are the best sources for code-switching research" (Li and Moyer 2008: 45).

The material from the other pair of informants was collected while I was present with a recorder. The recording is the result of what was initially meant to be a conversation about the term and notion Spanglish between Julieta and myself. We met at the usual coffee shop, and started talking while I was recording. This conversation resulted in a 1 hour and 15 minutes conversation in Spanish and English between Julieta, her friend Sofia, and occasionally myself. This conversation was highly spontaneous since they were never explicitly asked to use both Spanish and English, nevertheless, not all of the speech is a mix between the two languages; the beginning and some chunks are only in English. Consequently, I chose to transcribe from 32 minutes and onwards, and to exclude some of the monolingual conversations. Most of the excluded parts are conversations in English between Julieta and myself.

According to Li and Moyer, it is important to take the spatio-temporal context into consideration when dealing with data-collection, keeping in mind that "all language is produced at a given time and in a given context and recognition of these dimensions is relevant for language contact and change and for bilingual language acquisition." (2008: 29). The material from Maria and Juan was collected in their home during the evenings, after work, while cooking dinner. The fact that they were in the comfort of their own home may have had an effect on the material collected. However, the time of day might indicate that



they were tired, which might have had an effect on the data. The material from Julieta and Sofia was collected in a coffee shop where Sofia works and Julieta frequents often, so this might indicate a certain comfort as well. Both of them are used to spending time in this coffee shop, which might have had a positive influence on the data in that it might have encouraged naturalistic data. This material is the result of only one recording done in the middle of the day, which might indicate that they were both a bit more alert and awake than Maria and Juan who recorded during the evenings.

Another possible problem with the recordings is the issue of “truth”. In both recording situations the informants might have wanted to “please the researcher” and thus “feel[ing] constrained by the interview situation (...) aim[ed] to project a given image for themselves and their community” (cf. Li and Moyer 2008: 162). Consequently, an important question to keep in mind would be whether or not their speech is natural and spontaneous, or if they speak a certain way to please the researcher.

The main body of the material is from the married couple, and there is only a small portion of the corpus from Julieta and Sofia. Considering that the sample consists of only four individuals, it is far from representative or generalizable for all members of the Hispanic community in Bushwick, Brooklyn. This means that this thesis will instead provide a descriptive and analytical account of the four individuals’ speech in hopes that it might be able to shed some light on this group of bilinguals, i.e. late bilinguals of Spanish and English and their habits concerning language mixing.

### 3.1.2.5. Transcribing the Data

To begin, the recordings were transcribed orthographically as there was no need for phonetic or phonemic details in the analysis. I also decided not to include turn taking or other details, since the focal point of the thesis is the words expressed. In the transcription the English words were written in bold and the utterances were numbered to facilitate the analysis. To illustrate this an excerpt from the corpus is included. Notice how ‘Juan’ is written in brackets two times to indicate that his turn has been divided into three different utterances in the corpus, meaning that this excerpt consists of four separate utterances in the corpus.

3.1. (Juan): y me canceló, entonces cuando le dije sabes que este no le llegue hasta

- ahora, ehm, porque la muchacha (...) no se va a aparecer ehm, pero  
pues la voy a ver a la otra, ¿no? me dice **nah I don't really wanna pay  
nothing eh**  
*he cancelled on me, so when I told him, you know this hasn't come to  
him until now, because the girl (...) is not going to show up, ehm, but,  
well, I'm going to see the other girl, right? He says nah I don't really  
wanna pay nothing, eh*
- (Juan): no que era un **shock** , entonces yo le dije (...) pero por un lado la  
agradecí por  
*no, it was a shock, so I told him (...) but on one side I thanked her for*
- Maria: ¿qué dijo? **I don't wanna what?;**  
*What did he say? I don't wanna what?*
- Juan: **I don't wanna I don't wanna pay nothing**
- Maria: **I don't wanna pay not one?** (examples 1281-1284 from the corpus)

Example 3.1 illustrates how the spoken material was transcribed: with English in bold, the numbering within the corpus in brackets after the excerpt, and how I split the utterances according to *switches*, *borrowings* and utterance boundaries. In this example Juan's utterance has been split resulting in his utterance having two different numbers in the corpus, because he switched into English two times in this utterance. The excerpt from the material also shows how all the examples from the material will be presented in the thesis: with the number of the example, the translation of Spanish/Spanish-English to English in italics under the utterance, and the number from the database in brackets.

Once the transcribing phase was over all the data was imported into a FileMakerPro file to facilitate the actual categorization and analysis. This program made it easier to analyze the material using a variety of categories and sub-categories. Figure 3.1 illustrates one of the entries in the FileMakerPro file and how the analysis of the material was done:

Example 2118. Nadie, toda América está viviendo **de pay-check a pay-check**  
y como carajo se sale de esto? No hay ninguna manera

Type ☐ Nothing ☒ Switch ☐ Borrowing

Switch ☒ Intra ☐ Extra

Direct borr. ☐ Core ☐ Cultural

Indirect borr. ☐ Calque ☐ Loanblend ☐ Loanshift

Intra ☐ Insertion ☐ Alternation ☒ Congruent lexicalization

Insertion ☐ Noun ☐ Phrase ☐ Adv ☐ Place name ☐ Adj ☐ Interj ☐ Pron ☐ Spelling ☐ Verb

Alternation ☐ Indir. decir ☐ Indir. other ☐ Clause switch ☐ Rep ☐ Voc/switch ☐ Tag ☐ Misc.

Assimilated ☒ Yes

Paragraph ☐ Yes

Comment

Figure 3.1. A record from the FileMaker-file containing spoken data.

Finally, as mentioned above, most of the material was recorded without my presence, which did have its consequences on the transcription. As I was not there, some context, both physical and linguistic, is lost, which at times made it hard for me to grasp what the informants were saying. Another point to be mentioned here is that I am not a native speaker of Spanish, so there might be parts of the recordings that a native speaker would have been able to grasp that I could not.

## 3.2. Written Data

The written data used to contrast with the spoken data is the short story *Pollito Chicken*, and can be found as appendix IV. It was written in 1977 by Ana Lydia Vega and published in the collection of short stories *Virgines y mártires* in Puerto Rico. On the web site where I came across the short story its introductory page is about Spanglish, and the short story is there to demonstrate literature written in Spanglish. In other words, it is presented as a text written in Spanglish. The short story is written using both Spanish and English, and is only one of many

works of literature written in a mix of both languages. I chose to use this short story, as opposed to the publications by Ilán Stavans (see excerpts presented in the introduction), because it was deemed to be more comparable to the spoken data than the texts produced by Stavans. In addition, Stavans publications have received criticism for its use of “unlikely Anglicisms (...), and an admixture of colloquial speech forms (...)” (Lipski 2008: 51). Since Lydia’s short story does not seem to have these features, it was deemed a more appropriate counterpart.

Ana Lydia Vega was born in Puerto Rico in 1946. She is an author, essayist and professor of languages at the University of Puerto Rico. Her short stories have won many international prizes, including *Casa de las Américas* in 1982 for her collection of stories called *Encancaranublado y otros cuentos de naufragio*. Since she is from Puerto Rico, where both Spanish and English are official languages, and it is stated in her biography that she wrote her first short stories in English (Garcia, url), it is, as mentioned in the introduction, assumed that she falls under the category fluent bilingual in Lipski’s three-fold division of bilinguals.

## 4. Descriptive and Analytical Account of the Spoken Data

This chapter will describe and analyze the spoken data. Initially a distinction will be made between monolingual data and data containing language mixing. As mentioned in Chapter 2, language mixing is a cover-term for the two language contact phenomena *borrowing* and *code switching*. The use of *borrowing* in the spoken data will be presented first, after which the occurrences of *code switching* in the data will be described.

The section on *code switching* will describe the occurrences of *extrasentential switching*, as well as *intrasentential switches*. Section 4.2.2.1, about the *intrasentential switches* in the data, will be organized according to the three processes *insertion*, *alternation*, and *congruent lexicalization*. These sections will provide reasons for the categorizations, and where relevant discuss other possible categorizations. The most important findings related to the spoken data will be summarized in section 4.3.

### 4.1. Monolingual Sequences vs. Sequences with Language Mixing

The FileMaker-file containing spoken data consists of utterances divided according to sentences, turns or points of language mixing, which amounts to a total of 2,143 records. The spoken data includes both monolingual speech, which mostly is in Spanish (only 25 monolingual utterances are in English), and language mixing. Out of these utterances, 1,397 (approximately 65%) are monolingual utterances, which means that 746 utterances (approximately 35%) contain both Spanish and English. This is illustrated in figure 4.1:

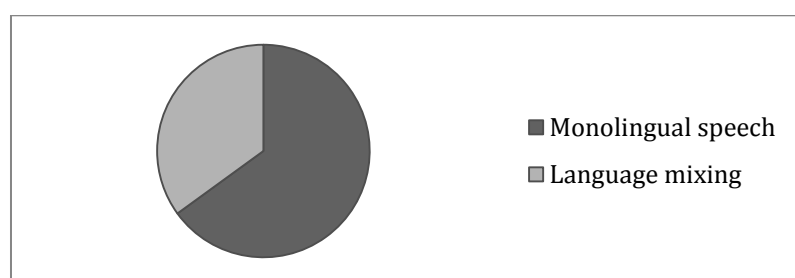


Figure 4.1 *Monolingual speech* and *language mixing* in the spoken data

With respect to the monolingual portion of the data some additional comments are in order. First, 1346 of 1397 utterances are in Spanish, which means that the spoken data is considered to have a Spanish matrix, since the general language of the conversation is Spanish (cf. Muysken's discourse method for determining matrix language). Of the 25 utterances in English, Julieta utters 19 of them, and Sofia 6. Most of these instances occur during sequences of English only conversation. Though it is worth noting that Julieta and Sofia have sequences of Spanish only conversation as well. Secondly, out of the 1397 utterances that have been deemed monolingual, there are 104 inaudible utterances, and 149 utterances containing only non-linguistic elements such as laughter and utterances such as 'hmm', 'aha', 'huh', 'mhm', 'eh', 'oh' and 'ey'. Utterances containing such sounds are not considered to be Spanish or English. This leaves 1,118 linguistic monolingual utterances, of which 25 are in English and 1,093 in Spanish.

## 4.2. Language Mixing

The utterances containing both languages were further categorized according to the different ways in which language mixing occurs. Of the 746 utterances containing both languages, there are as many as 702 *code switches*, while there are only 44 occurrences of *borrowing*. Figure 4.2 illustrates the uneven distribution of *code switches* and *borrowings* in the spoken corpus.

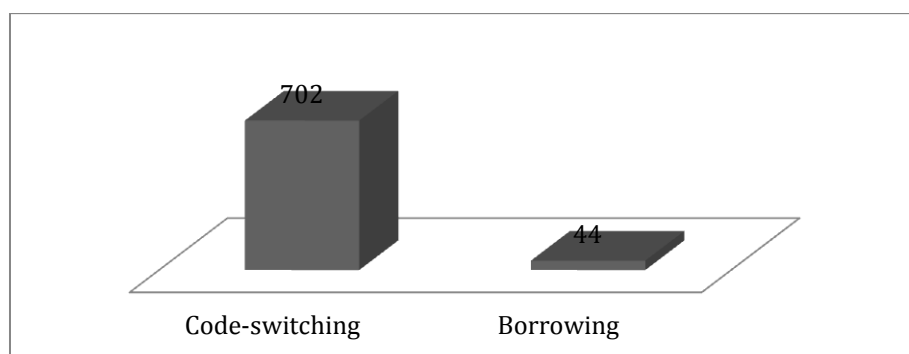


Figure 4.2 *Code switching* and *borrowing* in the spoken data.

### 4.2.1. Borrowing

Figure 4.2 above shows that the number of the language contact phenomenon *borrowing* in the data is rather low, amounting to approximately 6 % of the data containing language mixing, and only approximately 2% of all of the spoken data. Of the 44 *borrowings* 35 are *direct borrowings*, and 9 are *indirect borrowings*. 14 of 35 *direct borrowings* have been interpreted as *cultural borrowings* and 21 have been categorized as *core borrowing*. All 9 of the *indirect borrowings* are cases of *calques*. There are no *loanblends* or *loanshifts* in the spoken data. This is illustrated in figure 4.3.

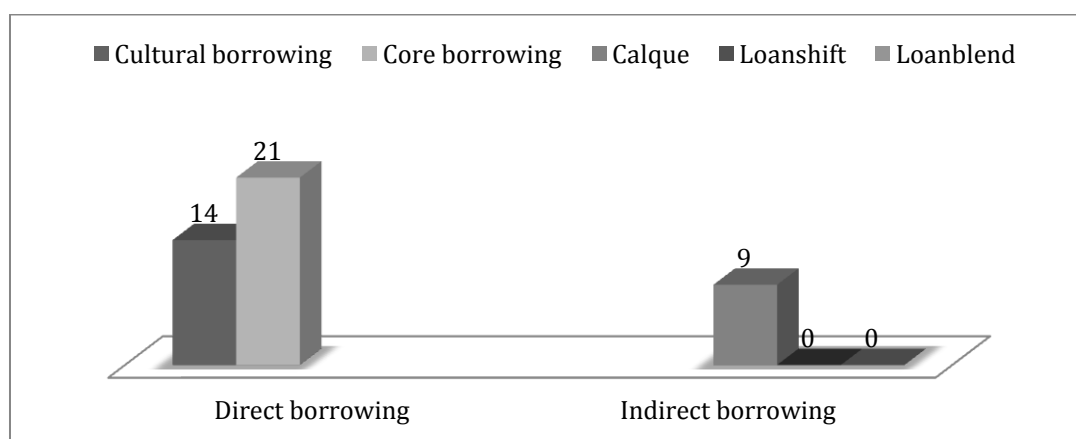


Figure 4.3 *Direct and indirect borrowing* in the spoken data.

In the following paragraphs the instances of *cultural borrowing*, *core borrowing* and *calque* will be presented.

The verb *googlear* has been categorized as a *cultural borrowing*. It was categorized as a *borrowing* because it is included in the online dictionary *Word Reference* (see discussion in section 3.1.1), and it was categorized as a *cultural borrowing* because it fills a lexical gap in the Spanish language. It is a rather new verb, and due to the popularity of this particular search engine it has become a new verb in many languages e.g. ‘å google’ in Norwegian, and ‘googlear’ in Spanish. Since the search engine has originated in the U.S., it is in most languages considered a *borrowing* of ‘to google’ in English. As many as 11 of the 14 occurrences of *cultural borrowing* are instances of this particular verb, and it is clear that it has been integrated into Spanish morphology. The reason why this verb is expressed so often is that the informants often ask each other to ‘google’ something. Here is an example from the material where Maria is asking Juan to google a word:

4.1.Maria: dale, **googlealo**  
*go ahead, google it* (914)



and a *cultural borrowing* depending on its denotations. On the one hand, it is a *cultural borrowing* when it refers to tickets used for baggage, coats and parking, since it is the only Spanish word used to refer to these meanings of the noun. On the other hand, it is a *core borrowing* when it refers to *tickets* relating to cleaner's repair chop, since there is a Spanish word for it: *resguardo*. Nevertheless, in the example above it is a *cultural borrowing* since in this case it refers to a parking ticket.

As mentioned above, there are 21 instances of *core borrowing* in the spoken data, and all of the instances are with the adverb *okay*. The use of this word in Spanish can be categorized as a *core borrowing* since there are words and expressions in Spanish that express the different notions of *okay*. I chose to include the use of *okay* because it is included in the online Spanish dictionary. There are 21 instances of *okay*, thus all of the 21 occurrences of *core borrowing* are the use of *okay*.

The 9 *indirect borrowings* are instances of the sub-category *calque*. A reference back to Chapter 1 is useful in this respect; in Otheguy and Stern's article *On the so-called Spanglish* they uncover many characteristics of a new variety of Spanish that they claim is emerging in the United States. One of the sections in the article is titled *The Phraseology of Popular Spanish* and they point out that "A review of popular varieties of Spanish reveals many local features of phraseology as well." (2010: 91). They illustrate this phenomenon using the expression *te llamo para atrás*, which is commonly used by Spanish-speakers in the United States. Otheguy suggests that it is "a calque of English *call back*." (ibid.), as *llamar* means 'to call' and *para atrás* means 'back' in a spatial sense (not temporal). In the spoken data there are some similar instances, and to illustrate this category, four examples from the corpus are included:

- 4.4. (Maria): **a todos yo les tengo block**, yo lo que pongo, yo si pongo  
*I have everyone blocked, what I put, I do put* (1958)
- 4.5. (Sofia): (...) cuando **primer periodo** era francés tenías que rezar en francés  
*when first period was French, you had to pray in French* (2009)
- 4.6. (Sofia): (...) y el gobierno lo encontró, lo **mandó pa'atrás**  
*and the government found him, and sent him back* (2058)
- 4.7. (Julieta): claro que tú tienes dinero, por eso le asusta **a todos los que están corriendo por oficina**, todos hasta Obama porque también tiene dinero  
*of course you have money, that's why everyone running for office is surprised, everyone, even Obama because he also has money* (2126)

These examples (with their corresponding literal translations into English) show the use of the following English expressions: in example 4.4 *to have someone blocked*, in example 4.5 *first*

*period* (in a school context), in example 4.6 *to send someone back*, and in example 4.7 *to run for office*. Example 4.4 is from a conversation about friends on Facebook, and the phrase *I have them all blocked* refers to the new phenomenon of *blocking* one's friends on this website.

Either of these examples can be considered *code switches* since they are expressed in Spanish using Spanish vocabulary and grammar, i.e. there are no switches into English. As a result of English influence on Spanish in the United States, these expressions have been borrowed and it could be argued that they are becoming part of a new variety of Spanish appearing in the United States (cf. Otheguy and Stern), just as the Spanish in Venezuela differs from the Spanish in Mexico in use of expressions. There are however some points to be made in this context. The direct translation of expressions is seen as linguistic errors according to dictionaries and grammar. Yet, in this context I have chosen not to deem them as errors, but rather as characteristic of Spanish in the United States, and suppose that Spanish speakers in the United States would accept these expressions. This way the emerging variety of Spanish in the United States becomes relatable to other varieties of Spanish, as there are many characteristics of the Spanish spoken in Latin America that grammars and dictionaries have not yet included.

## 4.2.2. Code Switching

Before presenting the results concerning *code switching* some comments with reference to the *Markedness Model* (cf. section 2.2.21) are in order. The conversations recorded for the purposes of this thesis are considered to have taken place in 'in-group' interactions (cf. section 2.2.2.2.), i.e. between Spanish-English bilingual interlocutors. This means that *code switching* in these recordings is considered to convey "dual identities or memberships in both of the cultures that the languages index." (Myers-Scotton 2006: 167) Due to the communicative situation in which the recordings took place, the *code switching* recorded is considered to be *unmarked*, and having an identity-related function. As we will see below, Julieta and Sofia's conversations is an exception, since it could be argued that their *code switching* is *marked* and that they are negotiating what language to speak.

Most of the 746 instances of language mixing are cases of the category *code switching* (cf. figure 4.2). In Chapter 2, a distinction was first made between *extrasentential switches*

and *intrasentential switches*, and out of the 702 switches in the material, 224 (32%) of them are *extrasentential*, and 478 (68%) are *intrasentential*. Figure 4.4 illustrates this distribution.

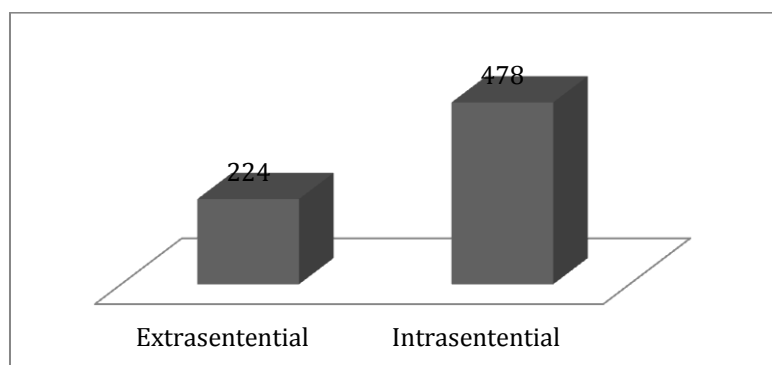


Figure 4.4 *Extrasentential* and *intrasentential* switching in the spoken data

As the data provides more *intrasentential switches* than *extrasentential switches* the latter will be briefly commented on before a more extensive account will be given about intrasentential switching.

Most of the instances of *extrasentential code switching* in the corpus occur when one of the informants speaks only English in her/his turn in the conversation. This excerpt from the data illustrates this practice of *extrasentential switching*:

- 4.8. Juan: el **bacon**, ahhh, sabes que, ah no  
*the bacon, ahhh, you know what, ah no*  
 Maria: **what?**  
 Juan: susta esto, pon la parte de abajo a la parte de arriba  
*you scared me, put the bottom part on the upper part*  
 Maria: **I know, I don't know** (examples 18-21 from the corpus)

Both of Maria's utterances in this excerpt were categorized as *extrasentential switches*, as they occur between sentences, or in this case between turns. These instances were fairly easy to categorize, as there are no elements of Spanish in the utterances. There were, however, some instances where other criteria had to be used to determine whether a switch was *extrasentential* or *intrasentential*. Here are two of them to illustrate this point:

- 4.9. Juan: m, voy a escribir a David, le voy a decir que si (...) si él puede trabajar  
*Sábado mejor, que se vaya (...) la chingada I don't like (...) they're like kids*  
*m, I'm going to write David, I'm going to say that is (...) it's best if he can*  
*work Saturday, screw him, I don't like (...) they're like kids* (528)
- 4.10. Maria: **never mind you that, why haven't you put it back up?** ¿Cuánto hace,  
*cuánto fue que ya, ya un mes desde el huracán?*  
*never mind you that, why haven't you put it back up? How long, how long has*  
*it been, already a month since the hurricane?* (1947)

In these cases there are Spanish elements in the utterances, and considering that the informants alternate between Spanish and English they could be categorized as *alternations*, one of the sub-categories of *intrasentential code switching*. However, I deemed all of the utterances to be complete sentences switched between sentence boundaries, and thus categorizing them as *extrasentential switches*.

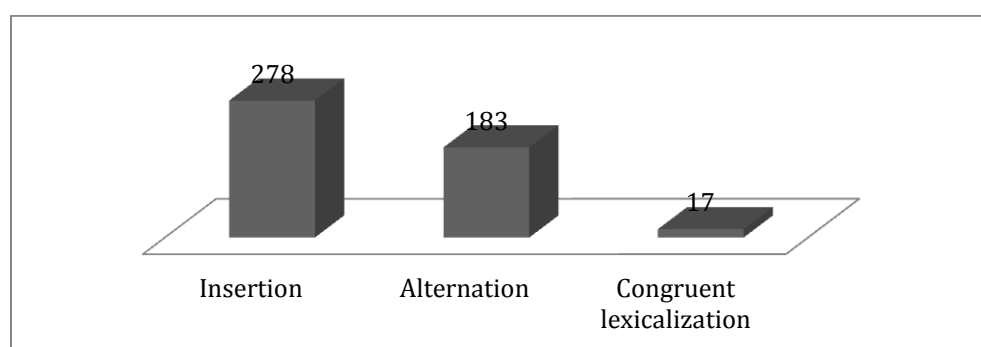
Both of the previous examples are from Maria and Juan, the married couple, though, the most interesting point to make concerning *extrasentential switches* is found in the material collected from Julieta and Sofia. A large portion of their switching mainly occurs in conversations where Julieta switches into English, when Sofia speaks in Spanish:

- 4.11. Sofia: es una diferente forma de escribir y tú (...) una palabra nueva, entiende?  
*it's a different way of writing, and you (...) a new word, do you understand?*  
 Julieta: **that's so true**  
 Sofia: el español es algo bien, como, que sé yo, cultural  
*Spanish is something very, like, what do I know, cultural*  
 Julieta: **yeah, it's essence yeah**  
 Sofia: es esencial; *it's esencial*)  
 Sofia: en la República tienes que aprender tres idiomas  
*in the Republic you have to learn three languages*  
 Julieta: **what do you have to learn?** (examples 1996-2002 from the corpus)

Example 4.11 shows Maria and Sofia's different tendencies in terms of *Matrix Language*. It is interesting to note that it did not seem as if Julieta was aware that her friend was speaking Spanish, and sometimes it seems as if Julieta is able to convince Sofia to continue in English as well, but then she switches back. A reference back to Myers-Scotton's *Markedness Model* is relevant here: it can be argued that Julieta is trying to negotiate the communicative situation (cf. the negotiation principle). Speaking in English she might be trying to negotiate her persona and her relationship to Sofia (Myers-Scotton 2006: 160). The same analysis can apply to Sofia, except that she is attempting to convince Julieta to speak Spanish, and thus negotiating her Hispanic persona, and her relationship with Sofia as her Hispanic friend. A possible reason for Sofia's preference and negotiation toward Spanish and Julieta's to English, can be found in the sociolinguistic forms they filled out. Sofia characterized her proficiency in English as medium, whereas Julieta characterizes both her English and Spanish competence as high. Nevertheless, Julieta's predominantly English contribution to the material could suggest that she prefers English.

### 4.2.2.1. Intrasentential Code Switching

Following Muysken's presentation of the three different processes occurring in *intrasentential code switching*, the majority of the 478 cases of *intrasentential switches* are *insertions*. There are 278 instances of *insertion*, approximately 58 % of the occurrences of *intrasentential switching*. Most of the remaining intrasentential switches are *alternations*, amounting to 183 instances, approximately 38%. The least common category is *congruent categorization* with only 17 instances, approximately 4 %. Figure 4.5 provides an overview.



4.5 *Insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization in the spoken data*

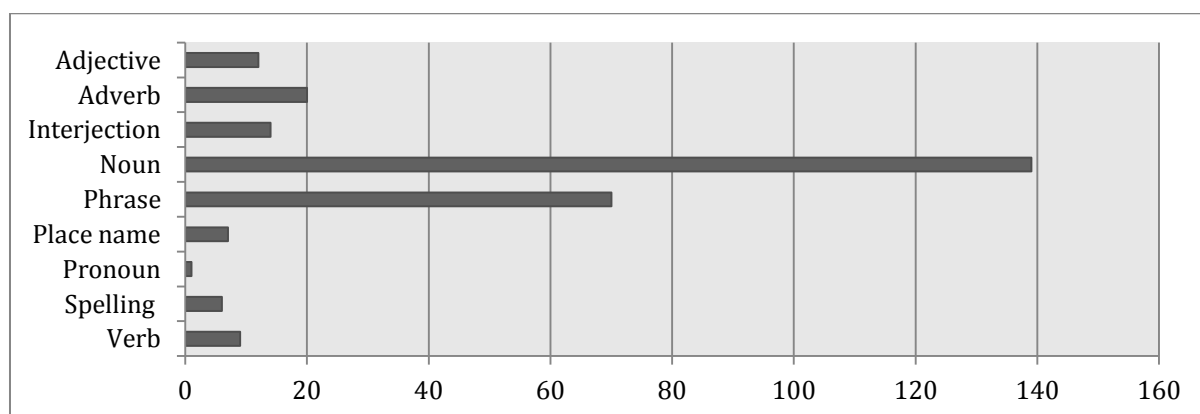
These findings tell us that the informants tend to insert English elements into Spanish speech more than they alternate between the two languages or use them in a shared grammar. Muysken provides sociolinguistic interpretations of the three processes. He states that *alternations* occur in “stable bilingual communities with a tradition of language separation” (Muysken 2000: 8), and describes it as “a frequent, and structurally intrusive type of code switching.” (Ibid.). *Insertions*, on the other hand, occur “in colonial settings and in recent migrant communities, where there is considerable asymmetry in the speaker’s proficiency in the two languages” (2000: 9). *Congruent Lexicalization* happens among “second generation migrant groups, dialect/standard and post-creole continua, and bilingual speakers of closely related languages with roughly equal prestige and no tradition of overt language separation.” (Ibid.).

The sociolinguistic interpretations of *alternations* are to some extent descriptive of the community in question, since there is a tradition of language separation in the United States. The profile he provides for users of *insertions* is a bit more questionable because it cannot be

said that there is “considerable asymmetry” in the informants’ proficiency in Spanish and English, and the community in question cannot be said to be a “recent migrant community”, yet *insertion* is the most common category. Since the informants are late-bilinguals one could assume that their proficiency might be somewhat asymmetrical, however, not to the extent as described above. The situation of Spanish and English in New York does on some points concur with what is said about *congruent lexicalization*, however, the informants are not second-generation migrants, which could explain why there are only 17 instances of this category in the data.

#### 4.2.2.1.1. Insertion

The instances of *insertion* in the corpus have been further categorized using word classes and the two non-word class categories *spelling* and *place name*. Thus, the categories used to organize the 278 instances of *insertion* are: *noun*, *phrase*, *adverb*, *interjection*, *adjective*, *verb*, *place name*, *spelling* and *pronoun*. To begin with, a look at the distribution of the 9 different categories in the spoken corpus is useful. This distribution is illustrated with the categories in alphabetical order in figure 4.6.



4.6. Types of *insertion* in the spoken data

Figure 4.6 clearly demonstrates that the vast majority of the insertions are *nouns*, with 139 instances. *Phrases* come in second with 70 instances, *adverbs* are used 20 times, before the 14 *interjections* in the data, *adjectives* are used 12 times, *verbs* are used 9 times, the naming of different geographical places occurs 7 times, *spelling* occurs 6 times and *pronouns* 1 time. All the categories will in the following paragraphs be commented on starting with the most common, and ending with the least common category.

*Noun* is by far the most frequent category. The category includes only single nouns, and they are mostly inserted into Spanish grammar, i.e. with Spanish determiners, as in the following examples:

- 4.12. Juan: el **bacon**, ahh, sabes que, ah, no  
*the bacon, ahh, you know what, ah, no* (18)
- 4.13. Maria: ahí al lado del (...)ía del **guy**  
*there next to the (...) of the guy* (326)
- 4.14. Juan: ahora, la mitad de mi pinche **dinner** te la (...) con hambre  
*now, half my lousy dinner you (...) hungry* (487)
- 4.15. Juan: eso es otra cosa que a mi lo que me interesa, (...) porque el **make up** artista  
*this is another thing that interest me (...) because the make up artist* (1336)
- 4.16. (Maria): y yo me di cuenta de que mi amiga Wendy la mama de Gabi que vino a nuestro nuestra **wedding**  
*I noticed that my friend Wendy, Gabi's mother who came to our wedding* (1873)
- 4.17. Julieta: los únicos que están abusando del sistema del **welfare** son los Americanos  
*The only ones who are abusing the welfare system are Americans* (2115)

Example 4.12, 4.13, 4.15 and 4.17 illustrate English nouns inserted into Spanish speech with the Spanish article *el* 'the'. In example 4.14 the English *dinner* is inserted into the otherwise Spanish phrase containing the Spanish pronoun *mi* 'my' and adjective *pinche* 'lousy'. In example 4.16 it is interesting to see that Maria is debating whether to use the feminine or the masculine determiner, which in this case is *nuestro/nuestra*, with the corresponding English translation 'our'. English nouns do not have grammatical gender, as they do in Spanish, which might be the reason why Maria considers both.

There are some examples in the corpus where parts of a noun-phrase are in Spanish, and the head of the phrase is in English (i.e. the noun is inserted), as seen above. All of these instances were challenging to categorize since they are phrases in form. They could have been categorized as *phrases*, however, since the whole phrase is not switched, they were categorized as *insertions* of nouns. Most of the instances of *insertion* occur in contexts as described above, however, some of them occur without Spanish determiners, pre-modifiers or heads, as in the following examples:

- 4.18. Maria: ¿ya es **time**?  
*is it time already?* (283)
- 4.19. Maria: mmm, y ¿qué necesitan? **Make-up**?  
*mmm, and, what do you need? Make-up?* (523)

- 4.20. (Juan): y tú que te crees si me andas diciendo **bitch**, ¿hm? ¿hm?  
*and you think highly of yourself if you walk around saying bitch, hm?, hm?* (670)
- 4.21. Maria: si si tengo **power**, mi amor, tengo tres dragones  
*yes, yes I have power, baby, I have three dragons* (675)
- 4.22. (Juan): yo le decía **avocado**, ah no, ¿cómo decía yo?  
*I called it avocado, ah no, how did I say it?* (1042)

In addition, there is one particularly interesting example worth mentioning. Example 4.23 demonstrates an English word that has been assimilated into a Spanish morphology. Among the *insertions* that surface as nouns this happens once. The English noun ‘closet’ is uttered in the following manner in the corpus:

- 4.23. Maria: de trajes en sus **closesitos** sabes que tenían  
*of costumes in their closets, do you know what they had* (1366)

The variant of the English plural noun ‘closets’ (*closesitos*) is given the Spanish diminutive with a plural ending: ‘-itos’. Adding ‘-ito(s)’ or ‘-ita(s)’ to a noun has many different functions in Spanish, including an expressive value (to express affection, enthusiasm, emotion, etc.) and ‘naming value’, in Spanish ‘valor apelativo’, in which the speaker attempts to change the hearer’s behavior (cf. Torrego: 21).

The next category is *phrases*, and within this category *nouns* also play a crucial role; there are 64 noun phrases among the 70 instances of *phrases*, which results in the use of nouns as *insertions* amounting to 203 times, i.e. approximately 73% of the total amount of *insertions*. Most of the time the phrases inserted are complete phrases in English. Here are some examples of switched complete noun-phrases:

- 4.24. Maria: que tú no le dices, tú no le dices **the fine prints**  
*you don’t tell him, you don’t tell him about the fine prints* (156)
- 4.25. Maria: en el Esnais hacen uno que es de de ciabatta con **grilled peppers**  
 igualitos a los de ayer *in Esnais*  
*at Esnais they make one that is of ciabatta with grilled peppers, just like the ones we had yesterday* (309)
- 4.26. Maria: pues así, así, por ejemplo, así los llaman **a lordling**  
*well, like, like, for example, that’s what they call a lordling* (362)
- 4.27. Maria: **al the wall**  
*to the wall* (392)
- 4.28. Maria: si ellos son **the good guys**, pero ¿cómo te digo? O sea, la historia (...)  
*if they are the good guys, but, how do I tell you? I mean, the history (...)* (1185)

Examples 4.26, 4.27 and 4.28 are from a part in the material where the topic for the conversation is the book *A Game of Thrones* because Maria is reading it and telling her



husband about it. In this part of the material, there is a great deal of *insertions* of English material from the book, and a possible explanation for the rather high frequency of English words in this context is that Maria is reading the book in English.

The phrases presented so far, are cases of full English phrases inserted into otherwise Spanish discourse. The examples below, on the other hand, are less defined, as the determiners are expressed in Spanish:

- 4.29. Maria:            porque, porque no pertenecen al al a los **seven kingdoms**  
                               *because, because they don't belong to to the seven kingdoms* (1163)
- 4.30. Juan:            seis, seis, dos, o sea, **all those** músculos  
                               *six, six, two, I mean, all those muscles* (1326)
- 4.31. (Juan):        y el **make-up artist** empieza a cotorrear con ellas  
                               *and the make-up artist begins to smoothtalk with them* (1339)
- 4.32. (Juan):        pero fue un buen **learning experience**  
                               *but it was a good learning experience* (1304)

Since all of these examples are cases where more than one element is switched they were categorized as English phrases inserted into Spanish speech, even though the complete phrase is not switched. Example 4.31 and 4.32 are the least clear, as it could be argued that they are compounds. Example 4.30 is especially interesting because every element in the phrase is switched, except for the head *músculos* ‘muscles’. Moreover, most of the noun phrases in the material have a noun as head, but there was one instance where a pronoun is head of the phrase:

- 4.33. (Juan):        y si yo pongo algo a **someone else** ellos no lo ven  
                               *and if I put something on someone else, they don't see it* (1959)

The case of pronoun (-phrase) insertion is interesting because it is not commonly found in previous research: one of the most extensive studies on Spanish-English mixing in New York, Poplack (1980) “gives zero cases of mixed in pronouns”, and other studies on different language pairs find few or no cases of this word class in mixing (cf. Muysken 2000: 78-79). In Zentella’s study of bilingual children there was only 0,8% pronoun-insertion, and this category only included personal pronouns (cf. 1997: 119). Nevertheless, since this only occurs once in the spoken data, these findings can be said to support previous research. In addition to the cases presented above, there are two atypical instances that need some explaining:

- 4.34. Julieta:        si tú me dices a mi, si sacamos si (...) el **minimo wage**, quien carajo va a trabajar?  
                               *if you ell me, if we take out, if (...) the minimum wage, who the hell is*

- 4.35. Maria: *going to work?* (2108)  
**that is the most unnecessary** electro domestic  
*that is the most unnecessary domestic appliance* (1848)

Example 4.34 shows an inserted noun phrase. This example is unique because the English expression ‘minimum wage’ has been assimilated to its Spanish context and ‘minimum’ has been altered to *minimo*. Example 4.35 is unique because the sentence seems to have an English matrix, which is uncommon in the spoken data.

The next category is *adverbs*, of which there are 18 cases. There is a bundle of different kinds of adverbs expressed in English, including the following examples:

- 4.36. Sofia: **so**, obligatoriamente para tú ser abogado  
*so, mandatory for you to become a lawyer* (2015)  
 4.37. Maria: porque **maybe** ese es el tiempo que esta este  
*because maybe this is the time that this is* (58)  
 4.38. Maria: okay, **now** te tengo que contar la historia de lo que pasó hoy  
*okay, now I have to tell you the story about what happened today*  
 (2151)

The use of *so* in example 4.36 has already been mentioned, and its use as a discourse marker occurs three times in the material. As mentioned above, *so* can be interpreted both as a *borrowing* and a *intrasentential switch*, but due to Muysken’s suggestion to categorize *nonce borrowings* (i.e. elements borrowed on spur the moment) as *insertions* it was included here (cf. section 2.1.3). Example 4.37 and 4.38 illustrate quite straightforward *insertions* of the two adverbs *maybe* and *now*. On a final note, it is also worth mentioning that the affirmative adverb *yeah* was included in this category. It was included as a switch because it is clear from the recordings that it is uttered using English phonology, and it was categorized as an *adverb* because it functions as *yes* in all the contexts. *Yeah* was used 7 times as an *insertion* in the material.

The next category is *interjections*, with 14 instances. As was the case with the *adverbs*, a number of different representations of this word class is found in the material. The interjection with the most occurrences in the corpus is *oh my God* which occurs 5 times. Additionally, there are 4 instances of *hello* with an emphatic function, 3 instances of *thank you*, one of *boom* and one of *holy shit*. Here are some examples to illustrate their context:

- 4.39. Maria: ven acá, Juan, Juan, **holy shit!**  
*come here, Juan, Juan, holy shit* (127)  
 4.40. Maria: si pero no se ha podrido aquí en la casa **hello!**  
*yes but it hasn’t rotted away here in the house, hello!* (586)  
 4.41. Maria: **thank you!** no viste, tengo una sola mano

- 4.42. Maria: *thank you, didn't you see, only one hand* (1031)  
 ai miño, te tengo que contar, mira, hoy ha sido un día, **oh my god!**  
*ai, honey, I have you tell you, look, today has been a day, oh my god!*  
 (1644)
- 4.43. (Maria): y me conecto, **boom!**  
*And I connect, boom!* (1865)

In these examples the context of the *interjections* becomes clear, which also helps explain why they were included in this category. They have been categorized as *insertions* because they are single elements of phrases in English that have been inserted into an otherwise Spanish discourse.

The next category is *adjectives*, and within the 12 instances in the corpus there are some intriguing examples as well:

- 4.44. (Juan): que todo el mundo estaba **sobers** o sea ningún, nadie estaba, nadie se había relajada  
*that everyone was sober, like no one, no one was, no one had relaxed*  
 (1314)
- 4.45. Juan: mhm mhm, termina con los estudios, para mi es una cosa **forbidden** al menos que yo tenía  
*mhm, mhm, finish the studies, to me it's a forbidden thing, at least that I had* (1377)
- 4.46. (Maria): y todos siempre estamos **freakeado** al respeto  
*and everyone are always freaked with respect [to]* (1961)

Example 4.44 and 4.46 are both interesting because they show the adaption of English adjectives into a Spanish morphology; in 4.44 we see the English adverb 'sober' used with the Spanish plural ending '-s' as Spanish adjectives have plural endings and English adjectives do not. Notice that the Spanish subject *todo el mundo* 'everyone' would not in fact require a plural adjective, which in turn could be a reflection of the informants' proficiency level. In example 4.46 there is also an adaption/assimilation of the English adjective 'freaked', which is given the Spanish past participle morpheme '-ado' corresponding to English '-ed', resulting in *freakeado*.

Example 4.45 is interesting in terms of syntax; Spanish rules of syntax are applied using an English adjective. Following the rules of English grammar, the adjective would have been placed before the noun; 'a forbidden thing', or as a switched version; 'una forbidden cosa', however, because the *Matrix Language* is Spanish, it follows Spanish grammar, and adjectives are typically placed after the noun in Spanish. Thus it follows the *Morpheme Order Principle*, i.e. that the surface word order follows the matrix's grammar.

The next category is *verbs*, and insertion of English verbs occurs 9 times in the corpus. *Recording*, *bless*, *scan* and *translate* occur once. In addition there are two instances I would like to comment on because they appear in an assimilated fashion:

- 4.47. Juan:           **tageame** una foto, si  
                           *tag my photo, yes* (878)
- 4.48. Juan:           (...) **texteando**, a ver, pongo, a ver (...)  
                           *texting, let me see, I put, let me see* (1018)

The assimilated verb in example 4.47 is a rather new verb that has made its appearance through the popularity of Facebook, and the verb ‘tag’ refers to the ‘tagging’ pictures of friends, and it is used four times. *Taggear* could be seen in relation to the already mentioned *googlear*, but since its popularity has not yet reached the online dictionaries, it was categorized as an assimilated insertion. The verb in 4.48 is the non-existent Spanish verb *textear* used in the gerund-form. In addition to the cases already mentioned there are *insertions* of the following verbs: *recording*, *bless*, *scan* and *translate* in the spoken data.

The next category is *place names* with 7 instances. They were mostly categorized as *insertions* due to their pronunciation. When place names are expressed phonologically in English they have been categorized as *insertions* of alien material. Most of the time this happens when they refer to places located in the United States:

- 4.49. (Maria):       no te he contado que Morgan y Nicky se mueven de regreso a **New York**  
                           *I haven’t told you that Morgan and Nicky are moving back to New York*  
                           (1854)
- 4.50. (Maria):       que está en **downtown Brooklyn**  
                           *that’s in downtown Brooklyn* (1883)
- 4.51. Maria:        en Bank Street, en el **West-Village**, en la misma calle que vive Joey  
                           *on Bank Street, in West-Village, on the same street that Joey lives*  
                           (1930)

The fact that both *New York* and *downtown Brooklyn* have corresponding names in Spanish, i.e. ‘Nueva York’ and ‘el centro de Brooklyn’ underlines their liaison to the category. In example 4.51 we see that only one of the place names has been put in bold, which also means that only one of them has been included in the category. This is because only one of them has been integrated into Spanish grammar, i.e. *el West-Village*, and the other i.e. *Bank Street* has not. In addition to these examples, there is one mention of a place in the Spanish-speaking world that is expressed in English:

- 4.52. Maria:        no sé, coño es coño en **Dominican Republic**, en Venezuela, en Colombia, en España, hombre

*I don't know, jerk is jerk, in the Dominican Republic, in Venezuela, in Colombia, in Spain, man (2142)*

Considering that the inserted element is part of a listing of different countries in the Spanish-speaking world it is curious to see that only one of them is expressed in English. It is also worth noting that in this case the switched element is not only switched phonologically; it is also switched in the proper noun itself, as the Dominican Republic is 'la República Dominicana' in Spanish.

The next category is *spelling* with 6 occurrences. This category was included because when the informants spell out words, it is done in English, which in turn was considered to be a switch. In most of the cases words are spelled out, they are categorized as *insertions*; however, some of them were considered to be *alternations* because of the context in which the spelling occurs. This is illustrated in the following conversation about CAT-scans:

- 4.53. Maria: pero **what does CAT-scan stand for? C-A-T?**  
                  *but what does CAT-scan stand for?*  
          Juan: **C-A-T**, pero si pero en español, pero  
                  *C-A-T, but is but in Spanish, but*  
          Maria: por eso traduce **C-A-T** en español  
                  *that's why it translates C-A-T in Spanish* (examples 908-910 from the corpus)

The uses of spelling in the last two turns have been categorized as *insertions*, whereas the spelling in the first turn was considered to be part of an *alternation* due to the introductory conjunction *pero* 'but'.

The final category is *pronoun* of which there is only one occurrence. As mentioned above it is curious that this was a necessary category to include because switched pronouns have not proven to be common in previous studies on *code switching*. The single example found in the spoken data is:

- 4.54. (Juan): cancelamos para la cosa de los de **someone**, no?  
                  *we'll cancel for the thing of the, of someone, right?* (1313)

As mentioned above, since there is only one insertion of a prepositional phrase and one of a pronoun, it is reasonable to infer that this data supports the already established conclusion that pronouns are rare insertions.

## 4.2.2.1.2. Alternation

This category has two central sub-categories: *indirect speech* and *other*. A quick look through the database makes it clear that many *alternations* are expressed in the following structure: Subject (in Spanish) + *decir* ‘say’ + *que* + switch into English. In total there are 183 *alternations* in the data, 85 of these constructions have been categorized as *indirect speech* (72 with the verb *decir* ‘say’ and 13 with other verbs) and 98 have been labeled *other*. In other words, approximately 46% of the alternations are *indirect speech*, while 54% are categorized as *other*, which can be seen in figure 4.7:

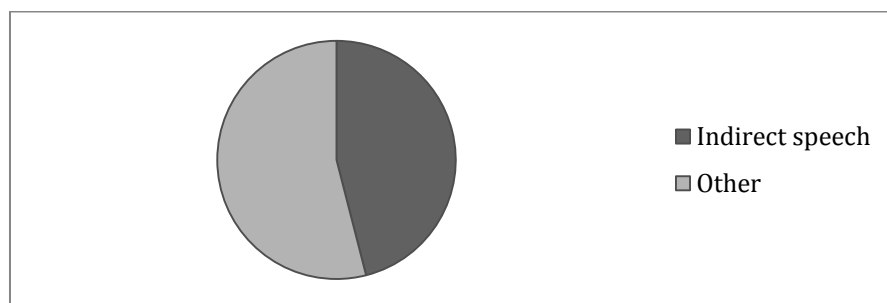


Figure 4.7 *Indirect speech* and *other* as *alternation* in the spoken data

As mentioned, instances of *indirect speech* occur with the verb *decir* in 72 of the 85 instances. This is illustrated in the following example:

- 4.55. (Maria):        entonces, me dice, **well, Maria, I know how it is when people have problems with other people, because I've been in that situation, and there is always the other side, blablablablabla, I I I I've never had a problema with her**  
                              so, she tells me, well Claudia; I know how it is when... (1963)

In this example the introductory main clause is Spanish, and the embedded nominal subordinate clause is English. It is also interesting to note that there is a second insertional switch back into Spanish in this example, i.e. *problema*. This example also illustrates a shift in *Matrix Language*. It could be argued that the matrix is English in this sentence, whereas the majority of the spoken data has a clear Spanish matrix. Nevertheless, since Poplack's model is associated with this process, Myers-Scotton's model might not be as relevant. In this respect a more applicable argument is that Poplack's *Equivalence Constraint* is not violated in any of these instances. Another aspect to consider in this context is whether or not these instances should be included as *code switching*, since they can be considered to be quotations from

someone speaking English. They were however included because there is in fact a switch from Spanish to English in the utterances, and it happens intrasententially.

Of the instances of *indirect speech* that are not used with the Spanish verb *decir*, there are 13 cases where other verbs are used to introduce what can be interpreted as *indirect speech*. These 13 instances include the use of the verbs *poner*, *contar*, *escribir*, *responder*, *preguntar*, *pedir*:

- 4.56. (Maria): Y le pongo **you know, question mark**  
and I put you know question mark (1782)
- 4.57. (Maria): inmediatamente le escribo a Chris, **what do you know about Janine moving to Brooklyn?**  
immediately I write to Chris, what do you know about... (1862)
- 4.58. (Maria): y el me responde ahm, **101 LaFayette Street, blablabla, hope everything is fine with you, how you doing anyway? And I'm like oh my god, thank, thank lord, that's like downtown Brooklyn**  
and he answers ahm, 101 LaFayette street... (1882)
- 4.59. (Maria): preguntándole **why the fuck isn't the sign up?**  
asking him why the... (1940)
- 4.60. (Maria): y entonces yo le pido a Wendy que por favor, **unfriend her, I mean there is nothing in your life you're gonna benefit with having her there, ah, this is me asking you for a favor**  
and then I ask Wendy to please unfriend her... (1962)

In example 4.56 *poner* 'to put' is used in relation to writing a message, so it can be interpreted as a report about what someone has uttered. In example 4.57 *escribir* 'to write' is used to repeat what was uttered in a conversation on SMS, *responder* 'to answer' in example 4.58 is also an indirect way to provide information about what was uttered. Example 4.59 with *preguntar* 'to ask' is also a way of describing what happened in the conversation in question. Example 4.60 illustrates a somewhat atypical use where the verb *pedir* 'to ask for' is used. In this example Maria is telling her husband what she asked Wendy to do, which has been interpreted as indirect speech. *Poner* is used once, so are *preguntar* and *pedir*. *Escribir* is used seven times, and *responder* is used twice.

The backdrop of the conversation might explain the switches presented above. Many of the instances of *indirect speech* are a result of a conversation between Maria and Juan where she is referring to how she investigated the possibilities of an acquaintance moving to Brooklyn. Since the different conversations (on SMS, phone, etc.) she is telling him about presumably were in English, it is natural that the embedded clauses are expressed in English. In other words, it is possible to assume that the introductory clauses to indirect speech in Spanish and the linguistic context triggered a switch into English.

In addition to the verbs used to introduce an embedded clause with indirect speech, there is a distinct example of *indirect speech* without *decir* ‘say’. Example 4.61 illustrates the implicit use of *indirect speech* as an *alternation*:

- 4.61. Juan: (...) no sé porque había un comercial de, no me acuerdo de que era el comercial, pero estaba un muchacho joven así en una oficina, y es un (...) trabajo así con su traje (..) **yes, yes, Mr. Dumbass, and we’re going to (...), and Imma go get it Dumbass, and, and then**  
*I don’t know because there was a commercial about, I don’t remember what it was, but there was a youngster, like in an office, and he is a (...) work like that with his suit (...) yes, yes Mr. Dumbass, and we’re going to (...) and Imma go get it Dumbass, and, and then* (1793)

In this example there is nothing explicit in the context that would indicate that we are dealing with *indirect speech*, however we can infer that Juan is reproducing what the ‘youngster’ from the commercial said in English.

The rather open category *other* was reduced to five categories that will be used in addition to the two categories related to *indirect speech* (with the verb *decir* and other verbs). These categories and their distribution are demonstrated in figure 4.8:

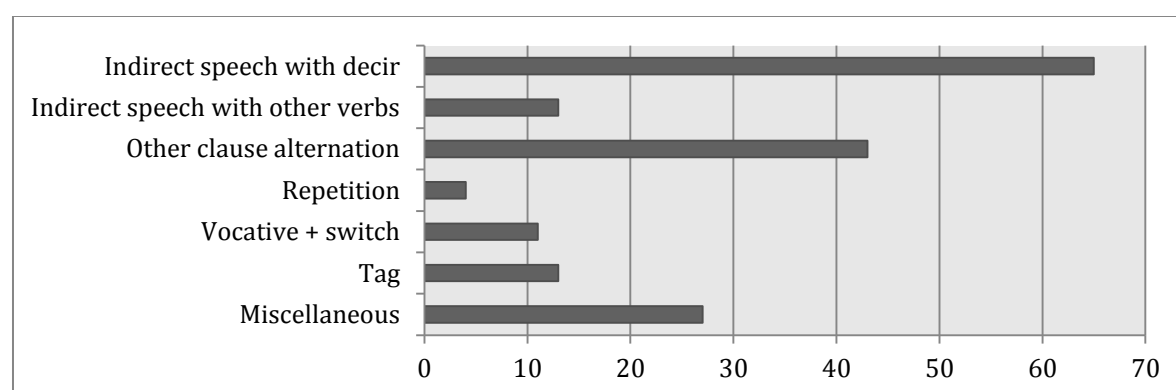


Figure 4.8 Types of *alternation* in the spoken data

Figure 4.8 reveals that *indirect speech* accounts for approximately half the *alternations* (85 of 182). The bar chart also shows that switching between clauses is generally common in the spoken data, since the second most common group has been labeled *other clause alternations*, accounting for 43 of the *alternations*. Moreover, the third most common group is *miscellaneous*, in which there are 27 occurrences. The category *tags* comes in fourth with 13 instances, before *vocative + switch* with 11 instances in the data. Finally, *repetitions* account for 4 of the 182 *alternations*. These categories will be described and exemplified in the



following order: 1) *other clause alternations* 2) *miscellaneous* 3) *tags* 4) *vocative + switch* and finally 5) *repetitions*.

The first category apart from *indirect speech* is *other clause alternations*, which can be characterized as diverse. To begin with, a couple of examples will be used to illustrate what is meant by *clause-alternation*:

- 4.62. Maria: **how do you know** porque **it should smell like it is cooked**  
*how do you know, because it should smell like it is cooked* (84)
- 4.63. (Maria): o sea, **we have what we have**, pero **that doesn't happen here**, si aquí  
*like, we have what we have, but that doesn't happen here, yes here*  
(774)

These two examples illustrate almost complete clauses uttered in English, but with Spanish conjunctions to introduce the following clause. In the first example the conjunction *porque* 'because' is used and the second example illustrates the use of the conjunction *pero* 'but'. The second example illustrates not only one switch, but four, which underlines the notion of alternation between two languages.

The next example illustrates the unclear boundaries between the categories, as it could arguably have been categorized as an *extrasentential switch* because the alternated phrase in English is a complete sentence:

- 4.64. Maria: pues claro **the wall is all the way north**, y entonces este  
*well of course the wall is all the way north, and then this* (419)

On the other hand, the sentence begins in Spanish with *pues claro* 'well of course', and it goes on with the coordinating conjunction *y* 'and', so it was classified as an alternation between a coordinate clause in Spanish and a coordinate clause in English. This structure is also seen in this example:

- 4.65. (Maria): porque va a ser muy muy mala, **and I love a bad movie**  
*because it's going to be very very bad, and I love a bad movie* (1809)

The next example, which also has been included in the title of the thesis, illustrates a different type of clause switch, where the main clause is expressed in English, and the adverbial concession clause is expressed in Spanish:

- 4.66. Juan: y aunque no lo creas, **that works**  
*and even though you don't believe it, that works* (581)

There are also some examples that illustrates switches of relative- and nominal-clauses:

- 4.67. Maria: **strawberry, same difference, something fucking berry** *que es rojo strawberry, same difference, something fucking berry that is red* (811)
- 4.68. (Maria): **we have a friend in common, oh fuck, she always finds a friend in common with every single one of us**  
*and I came in and I noticed that we have a friend in common, oh fuck, she always finds a friend in common with every single one of us* (1868)

In the first of these examples, 4.67, the subject is expressed in English, and the relative clause is restrictive and in Spanish, as it aims to specify the reference of the head of the noun phrase, which in this case is *something fucking berry*. In example 4.68 the *alternation* is also triggered by *que* ‘that’, which in this case introduces a nominal clause in English.

As the name *miscellaneous* suggests, this category includes many different uses of *alternation*, which we will see from the five selected examples from the spoken corpus:

- 4.69. Maria: entonces despertamos tarde y desayunamos con vino **again and again and again**  
*so, we get up late and have breakfast with wine again and again and again* (647)
- 4.70. Maria: están yendo a preso a una cor de cabrones, yea, por **rioting and looting**  
*they are putting a lot of sons of bitches in prison, yeah, for rioting and looting* (779)
- 4.71. Maria: yo te conté una vez **wait wait wait wait oh my God**  
*I told you once, wait wait wait wait oh my God* (1853)
- 4.72. Maria: tiene **friend in common with Sue**  
*she has a friend in common with Sue* (1869)
- 4.73. Maria: **D, E, F, G, 1, 2,3, to the city to transfer to the L to get to us, so I really doubt it, because, actually** esa esa zona, **it has its its own ah**  
*D, E, F, G, 1, 2, 3, to the city to transfer to the L to get to us so I really doubt it because actually this, this, this zone has its its own, ah* (1902)

Although this is clearly a heterogeneous group, in all the examples presented above there is a true sense of switching, which lead to their analysis as *alternations*. None of the switches above include full clause-switches, i.e. in 4.69 an adverbial is switched into English and repeated, in 4.70 part of the reason-adjunct has been switched, in 4.71 Maria interrupts herself because Juan is doing something, which leads to the switched *wait, wait, wait, oh my God*, in 4.72 the direct object of *tener*, ‘to have’ is switched, and finally 4.73 demonstrates a short switch into English in the subject of the sentence. The instances found in this category were categorized based on the elimination principle, i.e. they were categorized as *miscellaneous* if they were eliminated from the other categories.

Another category of *alternations* is *tags*, and within this category there are 10 instances of the same phrase; *you know* and one each of *see*, *is it* and *what, man*. The following example illustrates the use of English *you know* in an otherwise Spanish discourse:

- 4.74. Julieta: ella camina en trajes que le si, 20 000 dólares trajes y caminando así como que ah, bueno, **you know**, ella es la esposa del presidente, pero, y no importa quien eres porque las mismas personas te van a pagar, me entiendes?  
*she walks in dresses that she yes, 20 000 dollar dresses and walking like as if, ah, well, you know, she is the president's wife, but, and it doesn't matter who you are because the same people are going to pay you, you see?* (2128)

The cases of *you know* have been interpreted as *alternation* because Muysken included *tag switching* among *alternations* (cf. 2000: 99). In addition to the instances of *you know* there are three other *tags* in the spoken data:

- 4.75. Sofia: entonces, **see**? Cuando se necesita dinero se casa, dura tres (...) casado con esa persona, se divorcia y se casa con otra  
*so, see? When they need money they get married, it lasts three (...) married to this person, they get divorced and get married to another girl* (2052)
- 4.76. Maria: ¿23 ya? ¿No? **is it**?  
*23 already? Right? Is it?* (4)
- 4.77. Maria: me imagino, pero es horrible, es como que **what, man**?  
*I would imagine, but it's horrible, it's like what, man?* (1125)

The instances of *tag switching* could have been categorized as both *insertion* and *extra-sentential switching*. They could be interpreted as an inserted expression, and as a switch outside sentence boundaries since they in many ways are complete sentences (especially *you know*, which includes both a verb and a subject). Other names for *tag switching* are, according to Muysken, are *emblematic switching* and *extra-sentential switching*, which supports the latter interpretation. Taking all of these arguments into consideration I included *you know* as a *tag* among the alternations, and thus following Muysken's inclusion of *tag switching* with the *alternations*.

The category labeled *vocative + switch* is meant to describe a situation where the sentence opens using a Spanish vocative, which triggers the alternation causing the following clause being uttered in English:

- 4.78. Maria: (...) mi amor, **who's that**?  
*love, who's that?* (150)
- 4.79. Maria: coño, **pay attention**, no él no es hijo de Stark ¿cómo va a ser hijo De Stark?

- bastard, pay attention, no, he's not Stark's son, how could he be Stark's son?* (1223)
- 4.80. Maria: ay no (...) cabrón **you know what I say**  
                   *oh no (...) son of a bitch, you know what I say* (1352)
- 4.81. Maria: **cherry berry**, pendejo  
                   *cherry berry, dummy* (820)

In example 4.78 we see the use of *mi amor* ‘my love’, and then the rest of the sentence in English. Example 4.79 is an interesting instance because the notion of *alternation* becomes clear, as the vocative *coño* ‘bastard’ is in Spanish, the exclamation *pay attention* is in English, and then the rest of the utterance is in Spanish. In example 4.80 we see a similar example to the first one, where the only difference is in the connotations of the two vocatives; *mi amor* ‘my love’ conveys clear positive connotations, as opposed to *carbón* ‘son of a bitch’ in example 4.81. Finally, in 4.82 the vocative does not introduce the phrase, but comes after what is expressed in English.

In addition to these examples where the vocative is expressed in Spanish, and the rest of the sentence in English, there are four examples in the corpus of the opposite situation, i.e. with an English vocative and the rest of the sentence in Spanish. This occurs with *baby* and *stupid* in example 4.82 and 4.83:

- 4.82. Maria: **baby** los buenos son los que están en Williamsburg  
                   *baby, the good ones are those that are in Williamsburg* (547)
- 4.83. Juan: (...) espérate, **stupid**  
                   *wait, stupid* (947)

Both these examples have been categorized as *alternations* because the informants alternate between Spanish and English. It could be argued, however, that they are in fact *extrasentential switches* since complete sentences are switched after the vocative. Nevertheless, the vocatives were interpreted as part of the sentence, thus interpreting them as *intrasentential switches*. The examples where the use of a vocative triggers a switch into either Spanish or English can be seen in relation to the previous category, namely *tag-switching*.

The final category that was included has been given the designation *repetitions*. These four examples illustrate the use of *alternations* in form of the repetition of one word, clause or complete sentence:

- 4.84. Juan: **lordlings** señoritos? (361)
- 4.85. Juan: sal, sal, sal, **salt, salt, salt** (1028)
- 4.86. Maria: **say it aint' so, say it isn't so**, dime que no (1860)
- 4.87. Juan: bueno, **anyway** (...) (1625)

In example 4.84 we see an ambiguous example, as it is debatable whether or not *lordlings* is the same as *señoritos*. Nevertheless it is clear from the context that Juan is attempting to point out the similarities between the two concepts. *Señorito* is, according to the dictionary ‘a young gentleman’, and is sometimes used pejoratively at which point it refers to a rich kid. *Lordlings* are characters in the book *A Game of Thrones*. Example 4.85 demonstrates a clear repetition of the word *salt*, first three times in Spanish, and then three times in English. Example 4.86 is a repetition of a complete sentence, first in two varieties in English; *say it ain’t so, say it isn’t so*, and then more or less the same sentence in Spanish. Example 4.87 is a repetition of a word with similar function and denotation in Spanish and English. *Bueno* has many translations, such as ‘well’, ‘good’, ‘so’ and *anyway* as what is repeated in example 4.87.

### 4.2.2.1.3 Congruent Lexicalization

Before embarking on the presentation of the results regarding *congruent lexicalization*, it should be stressed that there are many ways to do this analysis, as Muysken himself points out:

The mixing of English and Spanish could be interpreted as a combination of alternations and insertions, but the ongoing back and forth suggests that there may be more going on, and that the elements from the two languages are inserted, as constituents or as words, into a shared structure. (cf. Muysken 2000: 6-7).

In the present analysis I have chosen to be strict in terms of what I have deemed as *congruent lexicalization*, and a discussion about the boundaries between these three categories will be deliberated in this section. When presenting the instances of *congruent lexicalization* in the data, I have decided to include all of the 17 examples in the corpus that were deemed to fit the description Muysken provides, and in the categorization the focus has been on the following criterion: “A situation where the two languages share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language.” (Muysken 2001: 6).

The examples have been divided into two main groups: one with examples where the sense of going back and forth is clear, and one where there is a sense of a shared grammar. Examples 4.88-4.92 demonstrate how the lines between multiple *insertions* and *congruent lexicalization* are not always easy to draw:

- 4.88. Maria: **so**, ¿dicen que era un **earth quake** de 5.8?  
*so, they say that there was an earth quake of 5.8 (34)*
- 4.89. (Maria): de que el papa no va a levantar **against them** otra vez  
*that the father is not going to raise against them again (453)*
- 4.90. Maria: **listen to me**, vea el **google** otra vez  
*listen to me, look in google again (985)*
- 4.91. Maria: esos son **wildlings** o **free people**  
*they are wildlings or free people (1176)*
- 4.92. (Maria): esto fue tu **mail** de **New York Times newspaper**  
*that was your mail from New York Times newspaper (1830)*
- 4.93. Sofia: **it depends on**, depende a lo que tú quieres llamar **freedom**, **I personally**  
*it depends on, it depends on what you want to call freedom, I personally (2091)*

All of these examples could be interpreted as one or more *insertions* or as *alternations*, for example in 4.90 *listen to me* could be interpreted as either an *extrasentential switch* or the whole sentence could be deemed an *alternation*, but due to the grammatically integrated noun *google* it was included among the *congruent lexicalizations*. However, due to the going back and forth, I decided to include them among the instances of *congruent lexicalization*.

The second group is illustrated with examples 4.94 - 4.103. These instances have been deemed *congruent lexicalization* due to the strong sense of a shared grammar:

- 4.94. Maria: pero lo que más es **funny though**  
*but what else is funny though (200)*
- 4.95. Maria: también es un personaje importante, porque pasa de pasa de **being** estúpida **to then what the fuck is going on?**  
*it's also an important figure, because he/she goes from being stupid to then what the fuck is going on? (1193)*
- 4.96. Maria: claro porque es **nice to keep the ahm** tortillas calientitas  
*of course because it is nice to keep the ahm tortillas hot (1095)*
- 4.97. (Maria): **Because** ella era así como bien **childlish childish**, ¿no?  
*because she was like, really childish, childish, you know? (1194)*
- 4.98. Juan: (...) decía **help me, help me** mi Chihuahua **is lost**  
*I was saying help me help me, my chihuahua is lost (1561)*
- 4.99. (Maria): tiene **friend in common** conmigo  
*she has a friend in common with me (1872)*
- 4.100. Maria: o sea **you don't really have to leave** ese **hood** (1904)  
*I mean, you don't really have to leave this hood*
- 4.101. Sofia: yo no me recuerdo, sé que es por, ahm, ella trabaja en el mansión en la que **está supposed to a vivir**, pero como él tiene tanto dinero ya no vive ahí (2070)  
*I don't remember, I know it's because, ahm, she works en the mansion where he is supposed to live, but since he has so much money he doesn't live there anymore*
- 4.102. Maria: Orlando, es cuatro horas **driving** y como media hora volando  
*Orlando is four hours driving, and like half an hour flying (748)*

4.103. Julieta:           idiomas **and different cultures**, yeah  
                                  *languages and different cultures, yeah* (1995)

I will comment on some of these examples. Example 4.94 has been categorized as *congruent lexicalization* for two different reasons. Largely because it could be argued that ‘but what else is funny though’ is the underlying structure, which supports the fact that there is a shared structure, and that it is filled lexically with both languages. Secondly, in Muysken’s description of *insertions* he makes it clear that when “several constituents in a row do *not* form a *unique* constituent” the category *insertion* is not plausible, and he then goes on to say that *congruent lexicalization* or *alternation* should be considered in these cases (2000: 62). In example 4.94 it is clear that *funny though* is not a unique constituent, and that there is a shared structure. Consequently it was categorized as *congruent lexicalization*.

In 4.95 the English structure ‘going from being something to then something else’ is expressed both in Spanish and English: ‘going from’ is expressed in Spanish *pasa de*, *being* is expressed in English, and the object in Spanish *estúpida* ‘stupid’, and then the rest of the utterance is in English. In this respect the example encompasses what Muysken describes as the characteristics of *congruent lexicalization*.

Example 4.102 is especially interesting, as it could have been categorized as an *insertion*, since there is only one element expressed in English, i.e. *driving*. This example was considered to be *congruent lexicalization* due to the use of *driving* and *volando* ‘flying’ in the sentence: they are used similarly thus giving the sense of a shared grammar. It is noteworthy, though, that English and Spanish have similar structures; i.e. had the whole utterance been uttered in Spanish, it would have used the corresponding structure in Spanish: ‘es cuatro horas manejando’. Accordingly, this might help to explain why Muysken uses the mixing of Spanish and English as an example of a language pair where *congruent lexicalization* is frequent. Due to the similarities in structure between the two languages, the use of *congruent lexicalization* might come easier than with typologically different languages.

Finally, example 4.104 is an interesting case of an English expression filled with Spanish prepositions:

4.104. Julieta:           Nadie, toda América está viviendo [de **pay-check** a **pay-check**] y como  
                                  carajo se sale de esto? No hay ninguna manera  
                                  *No one, everyone in America is living from pay-check to pay-check and*  
                                  *how the hell do you get out of that? There is no way* (2118)

This utterance could have been included among the *indirect borrowings* as a case of a *calque* since it could be considered to be a translation of an English expression. However, since the

entire expression is not expressed in English, it was considered to be a case of *congruent lexicalization*. On the one hand it is an English idiom, so it could be argued that the underlying structure of the sentence is English. On the other, the *Matrix Language* is Spanish and English contributes with lexical elements (making it the *Embedded Language*). Either way it is clear that there is a shared structure that has been filled lexically with Spanish and English. Another interesting observation to make with examples like 4.102 is that they can be used to support the idea that both languages are activated in the same phrase (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006: 253).

### 4.3. Summary of Results

A summary of this section might help clarify what is characteristic for the spoken data of Spanish-English language mixing. First we have seen that the number of *borrowings* is quite low. Within the category *direct borrowing* the use of the assimilated verb *googlear* predominates the category *core borrowing*, and *okay* is the only word in the category *cultural borrowing*. Instances of different *calques* on English expressions predominates the *indirect borrowings*, as there are no examples of *loanblend* and *loanshift*.

Secondly we have seen that *code switching* is by far the most common strategy, which amounts to approximately 94% of the data containing language mixing. We have also seen that *intrasentential switching* is much more common than *extrasentential switching* in the spoken data (478 vs. 224). With respect to the category *code switching* we have seen that it is reasonable to analyze it as predominantly *unmarked* in the context in which the recordings took place.

With reference to Muysken's categorization of *intrasentential switching* we have seen that 1) a vast majority of the switches occurring within sentences are *insertions*, 2) *alternations* are not as common as *insertions*, and 3) *congruent lexicalization* is the least widespread intrasentential switch. The numbers must however be seen in relation to the degree of rigorousness used when categorizing.

Additionally we have seen that *insertions* most commonly come in the form of *nouns* and *noun-phrases*, amounting to 73.5 % of the *insertions*, and that they rarely appear as *pronouns*. This finding supports other investigations on Spanish-English *code switching*. We have also seen that *alternations* usually surface as switching between clauses, and most commonly as *indirect speech*. Considering that *indirect speech-switches* can be interpreted as



*clause-switch*, the total number of *clause-switches* among the *alternations* is 129, which is 70% of the *alternations*.

It must also be stressed again that the generalizability of this descriptive and analytical account is challenged due to the low number of informants. Thus, based on the analysis we cannot draw any general conclusions with regard to the use of spoken Spanish-English language mixing in the same conversation. In the next section we will discuss the spoken data in light of John M. Lipski's claims.

#### 4.4. Lipski's Claims about Code Switching by Spanish-dominant Bilinguals

This section will compare and contrast the findings in the spoken data with the claims put forward by John M. Lipski in his article *Code switching or Borrowing? No sé so no puedo decir, you know?* In the introduction of his paper, Lipski states that there are "clear qualitative and quantitative differences among the language switches of three different groups of bilinguals." (2005: 1). The three groups of bilinguals he operates with are: a group of fluent bilinguals, a group of Spanish-dominant bilinguals, and a group of English-dominant bilinguals, cf. section 1.1. The group further examined in this thesis is the second group, as all four of the informants contributing to the spoken data could be classified as Spanish-dominant bilinguals, i.e. late-bilinguals with late acquisition of English. This classification has been made on the basis of the sociolinguistic form they filled out cf. section 3.1.2.3. Lipski states the following about this group of bilinguals:

Spanish-speaking immigrants typically switch only at major discourse boundaries such as sentences and paragraphs, usually in response to shifting domains of discourse. Calques from English are rare and English lexical items are usually inserted in non-assimilated fashion. (ibid.).

This quote with Lipski's description of *code switching* among Spanish-dominant bilinguals can be rephrased as three different claims, as outlined below. These claims will be used as a basis for this section, and I will use the self-compiled corpus of spoken data to see if the material collected for this thesis supports the claims.

The first claim is that Spanish-dominant bilinguals typically switch at sentence boundaries. The term “sentence boundary” will be interpreted as *extrasentential switch*, and a look in the spoken corpus tells us that and there are 224 *extrasentential switches* out of a total of 746 switches, in other words 29% of switches are at sentence boundaries. In other words it cannot be said to be typical of this group to switch at sentence boundaries. Example 4.105 illustrates a switch occurring at sentence boundaries:

- 4.105. Sofia: lo que pasa es que nosotros tuvimos mucho tiempo invadados por  
*what happens is that for a long time we were invaded by* (2018)
- Julietta: **yeah, I was about to say, there’s so many, in those little islands that weren’t taken over by or owned like Puerto Rico is owned by the US, the Philipines is owned by the US, but St. Martin is half Dutch, half French, split down, and it’s a tiny island, and it’s, it’s a tiny island, and from one street to the next street, it’s, we speak French over here, we speech Dutch over here, we speak Dutch over here, and I’m sure that they have like a Dutch-French inner-mix, like the, there’s a Dutch-French, what is it? You can’t, cause French, it would be Frutch?**
- Sofia: tú no has oído de los Sanky Pankies?  
*You haven’t heard about the Sanky Pankies?* (2018-2020)

Example 4.105 shows a switch from Spanish to English, because Sofia utters something in Spanish, and Juliet continues the conversation in English.

The first claim also states that switching by Spanish-dominant bilinguals happens in response to shifting domains of discourse. Switching in relation to changing *domains of discourse* needs interpretation, since the term can at least have two different interpretations. On the one hand it can be interpreted as a variety of purposes and social settings in which different languages are used. In other words, following this definition, the claim is that language mixing is triggered by certain social settings, and that Spanish-dominant bilinguals tend to mix languages in certain settings. This can be verified in the sociolinguistic forms the informants filled out, since they were asked to provide a “description of language choice, when, where, and with whom to you switch languages”(cf. appendix 3). Unfortunately, only Juan and Sofia interpreted the answer correctly: Sofia said that she switches with friends and family, and Juan said that he mostly switches with his wife, and that they tend to switch languages at home. These answers are clear indications that they mix languages in certain *domains of discourse* and that a change in *domain* might trigger language mixing among this group of bilinguals.

On the other hand *domain of discourse* can be interpreted as topics, meaning that, according to this definition, the claim is that Spanish-dominant bilinguals switch when the

topic changes in the conversation. A look through the *extrasentential switches* suggests that this is rare, as out of 224 extrasentential switches only 22 are related to a shift in topic. In other words, when *domain of discourse* is interpreted as topic, the spoken data does not support this claim.

The second claim Lipski makes is that *calques* from English are rare. Considering that the descriptive and analytical account of the spoken data includes a category for the indirect borrowing *calque*, it is easy to see if the material collected for the purposes of this thesis supports this claim. The numbers tell us that this claim is supported by the spoken corpus data, since a mere 0.41% (9 out of 2143 records in the File-Maker-file) represents *calques*. In other words, *calques* would indisputably be characterized as rare.

The third, and final claim Lipski makes is that “English lexical items are usually inserted in non-assimilated fashion”, i.e. lexical items are assimilated into the context they are in, and thus integrated into Spanish morphology. In the classification of the spoken material, “assimilation” was recorded to be able to test this claim. The instances I analyzed as inserted in an assimilated fashion are: *tagear* (4 cases), *scanear* (7 cases), *textear* (2 cases), *closesitos* (1 case), *freakeado* (1 case), and cases of expressions that have been assimilated into a Spanish context: *el minimo wage* and *de pay-check a pay-check*. This results in 18 instances of assimilated lexical items and expressions in the material, which means that this occurs in almost 1% of the records in the FileMaker-file. This is not extensive, so one could say that this claim is also supported by the spoken corpus.

In summary, while the material does not support the first claim, it does support the final two claims. Regarding the first claim and the explanation suggested by Lipski, it was found that the informants do switch according to *domains of discourse* when interpreted as social settings, but they do not typically switch in response to a shift in topic. For further research on the subject of habits among Spanish-dominant bilinguals in *code switching*, more informants are needed. It cannot be stressed enough that this investigation is based on a low number of informants. Nevertheless, the tendencies revealed among the informants who have contributed to this thesis suggest that the claims put forth by Lipski could benefit from a revision.

## 5. Descriptive and Analytical Account of the Written Material

Now that we have seen a description of the spoken data, we will take a similar look at the written data, and in that respect some expectations should be formulated. On one hand it is reasonable to assume that there are differences between the two components of data due to general differences between written language and spoken language, and the fact that the short story was written in 1977 and the spoken data was collected in 2011. Additionally, since the informants for the spoken data are late bilinguals, and the author of the short story presumably is an early bilingual, differences between the components of data are expected. On the other hand, the short story is written using what can be classified as ‘oral language’, so this might indicate that the differences are not excessive. Furthermore, since research on the subject of *code switching* between Spanish and English clearly indicates that there are constraints on *code switching*, and that it follows certain rules, it is reasonable to expect some similarities as well.

In order to facilitate the comparison of the spoken and the written data in Chapter 7, this chapter will follow the same structure as Chapter 4. Accordingly, the ratio between monolingual language vs. language mixing will be presented first. The data containing language mixing, which consists of cases of *borrowing* and *code switching*, will then be presented in more detail. The instances of *code switching* in the written data will be further categorized, exemplified and described according to Muysken’s framework.

### 5.1. Monolingual Sequences vs. Sequences with Language Mixing

The FileMaker-file containing the short story *Pollito Chicken* by Ana Lydia Vega consists of 125 different records, i.e. turns and sentences. In accordance with the way the spoken utterances were dealt with, the sentences in the short story were also divided according to sentence and clause level and switches. The ratio between the uses of one language vs. language mixing is quite different from the spoken data; 6 records, approximately 5%, contain

only one language, all of which are in Spanish, and 119 records, approximately 95%, contain both languages. This is illustrated in figure 5.1.

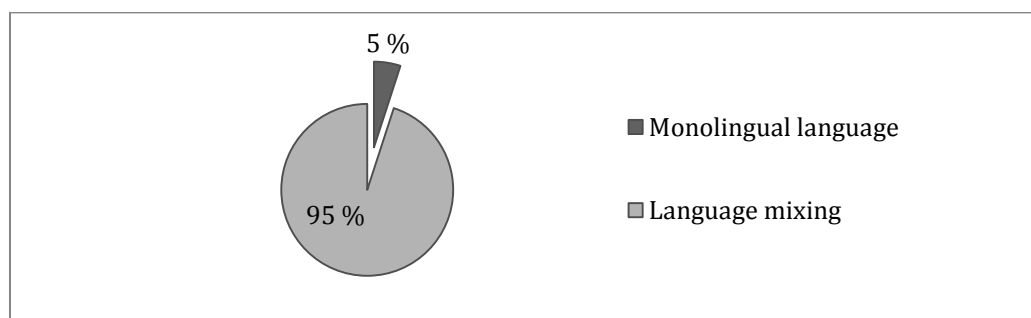


Figure 5.1. *Monolingual data and language mixing* in the short story

The uneven distribution in figure 5.1 suggests that the short story is written using a Spanish matrix, which makes it comparable to the spoken data.

## 5.2. Language Mixing

The utterances containing language mixing have been categorized using the two principal categories *borrowing* and *code switching*. The written data consists mainly of *code switching*, while *borrowing* is not as well represented, as was also the case in the spoken material. There are 116 records that contain *switches*, approximately 97.5% of the data containing language mixing, but only 3 *borrowings*, approximately 2.5% of the data containing language mixing. These figures are illustrated in figure 5.2:

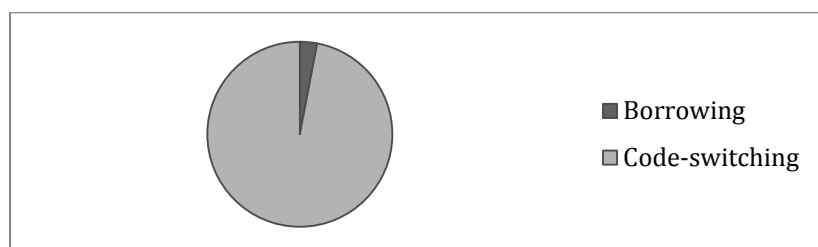


Figure 5.2 *Borrowing and code switching* in the short story

As *code switching* is most frequently used in the written data it will be dealt with more extensively than *borrowing*.

### 5.2.1. Borrowing

Figure 5.2 above shows that borrowings are not very well represented in the written data, and since there are only three instances of *borrowing* I have included all three examples:

- 5.1. fábricas, condominios, carreteras y **shopping centers**  
*factories, condominiums, high ways and shopping centers* (54)
- 5.2. abrió el **bestseller** de turno en la página exacta  
*she opened the bestseller turnover to the exact page* (88)
- 5.3. tres piña coladas later y post violación de la protagonista del **best-seller**  
*three piña coladas later and post-rape of the main character in the bestseller* (91)

Example 5.1 shows the use of the English compound *shopping center*, which could be categorized in two different ways: as *borrowing* or as *insertion*. *Shopping* is a clear *borrowing* since it is found in the Spanish dictionary *Word Reference*. However, *shopping center* is ‘centro comercial’ in Spanish. Consequently, since *shopping* appears with the rest of the compound it can be categorized as an *insertion* of an English compound instead. Nevertheless, since the lexical element ‘shopping’ is a clear *borrowing* this word was included in this category. *Bestseller* in examples 5.2 and 5.3 is included in the online dictionary *Word Reference* and consequently was categorized as a *borrowing*.

Both *shopping center* and *bestseller* are *direct borrowings*. *Shopping center* is a clear *core borrowing* since there is already a word for this in Spanish, and *bestseller* is a *cultural borrowing* as there is no other word for this phenomenon in Spanish. Furthermore it is interesting to note that the noun ‘bestseller’ is presented with different orthography the two times it appears: once with a hyphen and once without. To sum up, there are only *direct borrowings* in the short story, and no occurrences of *indirect borrowings*.

### 5.2.2. Code Switching

Even though the *Markedness Model* is not usually applied on written data, it is reasonable to analyze the instances of *code switching* as *marked* because when reading a short story *code switching* is not an expected choice. Then again, the short story could also be analyzed as a text intended for ‘in-group’ members, and that Vega intended it to be a text for Hispanics in

the United States. In this case it would be analyzed as *unmarked* within a group, and the *code switching* would have an identity-related function in that Vega is “indexing both identities” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 122) and making an “unmarked choice for making salient simultaneously two or more positive evaluated identities.” (Ibid.).

*Code switching* in the short story has been categorized as either *intrasentential* or *extrasentential*. The ratio between these two categories is quite different from the ratio between these types of *code switching* in the spoken data. There are only two instances that qualify as *extrasentential switches* in the written data, and 114 instances have thus been deemed *intrasentential switches*. The two instances of switches between sentence boundaries are shown as examples 5.4 and 5.5:

- 5.4. (...) reprimiendo ferozmente el deseo de añadir: **I wonder why you Spiks don't stay home and enjoy it**  
*fiercely suppressing the wish to add: I wonder why... (4)*
- 5.5. Se hubiera casado con algún drunken bastard de billar de esos que nacen con la caneca incrustada en la mano y encierran a la fat ugly housewife en la casa con diez screaming kids entre los cellulitic muslos mientras ellos hacen pretty-body y le aplanan la calle a cualquier shameless bitch. **No, thanks.**  
*She would have married some drunken pool-playing bastard of those who are born with an incrustated trash can in the hand and who lock up the fat ugly housewife in the house with ten screaming kids between the cellulitic muscles while they make pretty-body and roam the streets to some shameless bitch. No thanks. (44-47)*

Example 5.5 clearly illustrates an *extrasentential switch*, as *No thanks* occurs between the sentence boundaries. Example 5.4, on the other hand, is not as clear-cut. It could be argued that it is an *intrasentential switch*, as it is introduced by a clause followed by a colon. In this respect it could be categorized as an instance of indirect thought, as the introductory clause suggests that the author reproduces someone's thoughts. Nevertheless it has been classified as an *extrasentential switch*, due to the fact that it is a complete sentence.

### 5.2.2.1. Intrasentential Code Switching

As previously stated, there are a total of 114 *intrasentential switches* in the material, and they have been categorized according to Muysken's three categories. As in the spoken material the majority of switches are *insertions*; there are 66 occurrences of *insertion* in the written data, 37 cases of *congruent lexicalization* and only 11 cases of *alternation*. The distribution of the three categories is illustrated in figure 5.3:

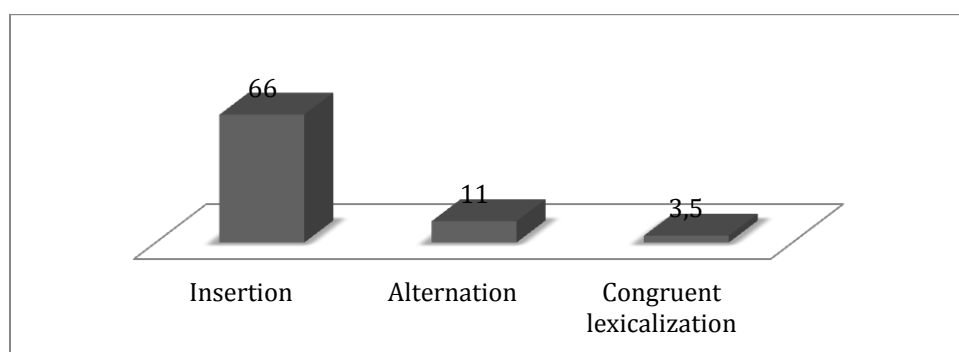


Figure 5.3 *Insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization* in the short story

In connection with *congruent lexicalization* the same point that was made in Chapter 4 should be repeated: *congruent lexicalization* is a particularly challenging category as it can be seen as a combination of *insertions* and *alternations*. Thus, this analysis very much depends upon the eyes of the analyst. Another analyst might have come up with a different classification applying these categories on the same data, but see section 2.2.2.4 for the way it has been done in this investigation.

### 5.2.2.1.1. Insertion

The *insertions* were categorized using the same categories applied on the spoken data in order to make the two components of data more comparable. See figure 5.4 for an overview of all categories. The two most frequent categories in the written data are *nouns*. There are 32 inserted *nouns* (48.5%), and 28 inserted *phrases* (42.5%), which together account for 91% of the *insertions*. The remaining categories are not frequent in the data; there are two *adverbs*, two *place names*, and only one instance each of *adjective* and *interjection*. The categories *pronoun*, *spelling* and *verb* do not appear as *insertions* in the short story. This distribution is illustrated alphabetically in figure 5.4:



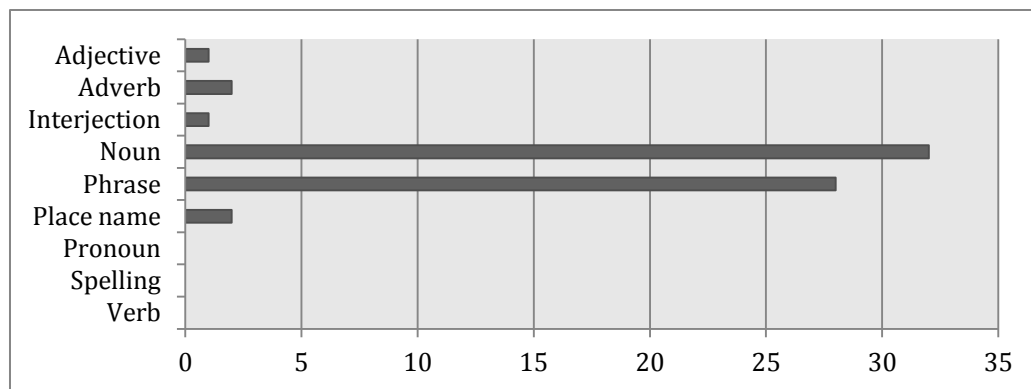


Figure 5.4 Types of *insertion* in the short story

Since the use of *nouns* as *insertions* is the largest group, this category will be commented on and illustrated first, followed by a discussion of *phrases*, *adverbs* and *place names*, before the single cases of *adjective*, *tag* and *interjection* are described.

*Insertion* of English nouns occurs, as mentioned, 32 times in the written data. They are mostly inserted into an otherwise Spanish phrase, i.e. with Spanish pre-modifiers and/or post-modifiers, as the following examples illustrate:

- 5.6. La visión de aquella vociferante **crowd** disfrazada de colores aullantes  
*The vision of this enthusiastic crowd masked with howling colors* (25)
- 5.7. y dejarse de tanto **fuss**  
*and stop with all the fuss* (61)

In example 5.6 we see the English noun *crowd* inserted into a complex Spanish phrase consisting of a determiner (*aquella* ‘this’), a pre-modifying adjective (*vociferante* ‘enthusiastic’), post-modifiers in the form of an adjective phrase (*disfrazada* ‘masked’) and finally an embedded prepositional phrase *de colores aullantes* ‘with howling colors’. In example 5.7 we see a less complex noun phrase with the head-noun in English, and the rest of the phrase in Spanish. There are only 7 instances of *nouns* as *insertions* that are not surrounded by determiners and modifiers. Three of the cases are the nouns *Dad* (appearing once) and *Mother* (appearing twice), two of them are brand names, and the last two are the following examples:

- 5.8. y la cabeza girándole como desbocado **merry-go-round**  
*and the head going around like a loose merry-go-round* (107)
- 5.9. Pide **room service** en inglés legal pero, cuando la pongo a gozal, abre la boca a grito en boricua.  
*She asks for room service in great English but when I’m having sex with her she opens her mouth and starts screaming in ‘boricua’ [Puerto Rican].* (112)

In example 5.8 the definite article is necessary before the modifying adjective *desbocado* ‘loose’ in both English and Spanish. Its requirement in English is seen in the translation. Nevertheless, it does not appear in the code-switched sentence. Consequently, this example can be seen in relation to the *Equivalence Constraint* (cf. Poplack), as it does not seem to follow the rules of either language involved in the switch. Example 5.9 is less complex as there is no need for any determiners in English either.

In addition to comments about English nouns appearing on their own and within an otherwise Spanish phrase, there are some examples that need some extra clarification. The first noteworthy example is an inserted noun that has been morphologically assimilated. This is interesting, not only due to its assimilated nature, but also because it has changed word classes in the process of assimilation; a Spanish noun *hanguedores* is created on the basis of the English verb *to hang*:

- 5.10. Esa misma noche, el bartender confesó a sus buddies **hanguedores** de lobby que  
*That same night the bartender confessed to his hang-out buddies in the lobby that*  
 (110)

This example shows that, in the process of morphological assimilation, a word can change from one word class to another. The translation of *hanguedores* was challenging, but in the end it was translated using ‘hang-out’ as an adjective.

Secondly, there are some examples of proper nouns expressed in English in the short story. It could be argued that they are not *insertions*, as they are proper nouns/brand names. However, since they are phrases that carry meaning in English, and they are integrated into a Spanish grammar, they were included among the *insertions*. These instances are included as examples 5.11-5.15:

- 5.11. y se frotó una gota de **Evening in the South Seas** detrás de cada oreja  
*and she rubbed a drop of Evening in the South Seas behind both ears* (70)
- 5.12. en la azotea del **Empire State Building**  
*in the terrace roof of the Empire State Building* (42)
- 5.13. Se pasó un peine por los cabellos teñidos de Wild Auburn y desrizados con Curl-free.  
*She ran a comb through her hair colored by Wild Auburn and straightened with **Curl-free**.* (68)
- 5.14. se pintó los labios de **Bicentennial Red** para acentuar la blancura de los dientes  
*she painted her lips with Bicentennial Red to accentuate the whiteness of her teeth*  
 (69)
- 5.15. como su jefe **Mister Bumper**  
*like her boss Mister Bumper* (50)

All of these examples illustrate instances of proper nouns being inserted into an otherwise Spanish discourse. Examples 5.11, 5.12, 5.13, and 5.15 illustrate similar contexts. They are all introduced by a preposition; the switch is part of a post-modifying prepositional phrase, and the switched elements of the phrase are proper nouns: *Evening in the South Seas*, *Empire State Building*, and *Bicentennial Red*. Since they all are integrated into a Spanish syntax, they have been categorized as *intrasentential switches*. *Mister Bumper* in 5.14 is inserted in Spanish discourse as an apposition to *jefe*. In examples 5.13 and 5.14 the switched element appears without determiners and modifiers in Spanish.

*Phrases* is the second most common category of *insertions* in the material. The vast majority are noun phrases, with a frequency of 24 out of 28 times. These noun phrases are both short and long, as is illustrated in examples 5.16-5.20:

- 5.16. Lo que la decidió fue el **breathhtaking poster** de Fomento  
*what made up her mind was Fomento's breathtaking poster* (7)
- 5.17. que no eran mejores que los **New York Puerto Ricans**  
*that they weren't better than the New York Puerto Ricans* (18)
- 5.18. que estaba cundido de **full-blood, flower-shirted, Bermuda-Shorted Continentals**  
*that was spread with full-blood, flower-shirted, Bermuda-Shorted Continentals* (39)
- 5.19. sería con un **straight All American, Republican, church-going, Wall-Street businessman**  
*it would be with a straight All American, Republican, church-going Wall-Street businessman* (49)
- 5.20. hacia un sudoroso, maloliente y alborotoso **streetcar named desire**  
*it was a sweating, smelly and rough streetcar named desire* (101)

Examples 5.16 and 5.17 illustrate the insertion of simple noun phrases. The relevant phrase in 5.16 consists of the Spanish determiner *el* 'the', and the *insertion*: pre-modifier *breathhtaking* and the head noun *poster*. The relevant phrase in 5.17 consists of the Spanish determiner *los* 'the', and the inserted element: pre-modifier *New York* - a head noun - *Puerto Ricans*.

Examples 5.18 and 5.19, on the other hand, illustrate longer noun phrases consisting of pre-modifiers, mostly adjectives, before the head nouns *Continentals* and *businessman*, respectively. Example 5.20 is also a complex noun phrase with a post-modifier in the form of a non-finite, reduced relative clause. This example is also interesting because it is a reference to the famous American play by the same name as the noun phrase.

In addition to the noun phrases in the material, there are two instances of adjective phrases, and one of an adverb phrase:

- 5.21. la puesta de sol tan **shocking pink** en la distancia que Susie Bermiúdez  
*the sunset so shocking pink in the distance that Susie Bermiúdez* (12)
- 5.22. Le pareció **very encouraging** aquella proliferación de urbanizaciones  
*this abundance of urbanizations seemed very encouraging to her* (53)
- 5.23. Al llegar, se sintió **all of a sudden**  
*arriving, all of a sudden she felt* (21)

Example 5.21 is an adjective phrase with the head *pink* and two pre-modifiers: one in Spanish *tan* ‘so’ and one in English *shocking*. In example 5.22 a complete adjective phrase in English is inserted into the Spanish discourse consisting of the head *encouraging* and the emphasizing pre-modifier *very*. Finally, in 5.23 we see the single inserted adverb phrase in the written material is *all of a sudden*.

After the categories *noun* and *phrases*, the next category is *adverbs*. As previously stated, there are only two instances of adverbs used as *insertions* in the data, examples 5.24 and 5.25:

- 5.24. Por el camino observó **nevertheless** la transformación de Puerto Rico.  
*Nevertheless on the way she observed the transformation of Puerto Rico* (52)
- 5.25. Tres piñas coladas **later**  
*Three piña coladas later* (90)

In example 5.24 we see an English conjunct inserted into Spanish discourse. An interesting observation is the placement of this particular adverb. In the translation into English I have chosen to place the adverb at the beginning of the sentence because it is a more common placement in English. We know this because Hasselgård states, “the most common position for conjuncts is initial. This is natural since conjuncts usually act as a link between the sentence in which they occur and the preceding context.” (Hasselgård et. al.1998: 289). In Spanish, on the other hand, the placement of adverbs is freer:

(...) los segmentos que funcionan como adyacente circunstancial (entre ellos los adverbios) tienen con el núcleo verbal una relación más laxa que otras especies de adyacentes, lo cual permite su eliminación sin que la estructura del enunciado varíe en esencia. Por ello mismo, los adverbios en general pueden permutar su puesto en la secuencia sin que el contenido manifestado se modifique (...)

*the elements functioning as adjacent complements (such as adverbs) have a freer relationship with the verb than other types of adjacent complements, which permits their removal without changing the essence of the utterance. This is why adverbs in general can swap place in the sentence without altering the established content.*  
 (Llorach 2004: 130).

This means that the *Equivalence Constraint* is not maintained in this sentence, i.e. one of the grammars is violated. However, since it does follow Spanish word order, and since the matrix is Spanish, it follows the *Morpheme Order Principle* (i.e. that the surface word order of the sentence usually follows the matrix language). Example 5.25 illustrates the insertion of the English time adverb *later* in Spanish discourse, and a situation where the *Morpheme Order Principle* is followed since the adverb is placed in final position, which follows both languages' word order.

The next category is *place names*, of which there are only two instances, of which example 5.26 is more debatable than 5.27:

- 5.26. antes de lo que se murió allá en el **Bronx**  
*before she died over there in the Bronx* (36)
- 5.27. que Mother se había llevado a Suzie para **New York**  
*that mother had brought Suzie to New York* (33)

The incorporation of 'Bronx' in 5.26 might be debatable since we do not have phonetics to rely on as we did with the spoken data. There is no Spanish name for this neighborhood in New York, so it could also be that this example is in fact not a switch at all. However, since place names were included in the spoken data, and almost all of the place names referring to places in the United States were pronounced in English in the spoken data, it was assumed that 'Bronx' in this context would have been pronounced in English if it had been read out loud. The fact that a Spanish article introduces the place name strengthens the liaison to the category. The *insertion* of 'New York' in 5.27 is a much clearer case, since 'New York' in Spanish is *Nueva York*.

The final two categories of *insertion* are one case of *adjective-insertion* and one of *interjection-insertion*. Since there is only one instance of each in the data, they are presented and commented on simultaneously. The two different *insertions* are presented as examples 5.28 and 5.29:

- 5.28. y de algo seguramente **worse**  
*and of something surely worse* (37)
- 5.29. y **thank God**, porque de haberse quedado en Lares  
*and thank God, because had she stayed in Lares* (34)

## 5.2.2.1.2. Alternation

Of the 11 *alternations* in the written material, seven cases have been classified as *indirect speech*, 3 have been labeled *miscellaneous*, and one has been categorized as *tag*, whereas the other categories found in the spoken data, including *other clause alternations*, *vocative + switch* and *repetition* are not attested in the short story:

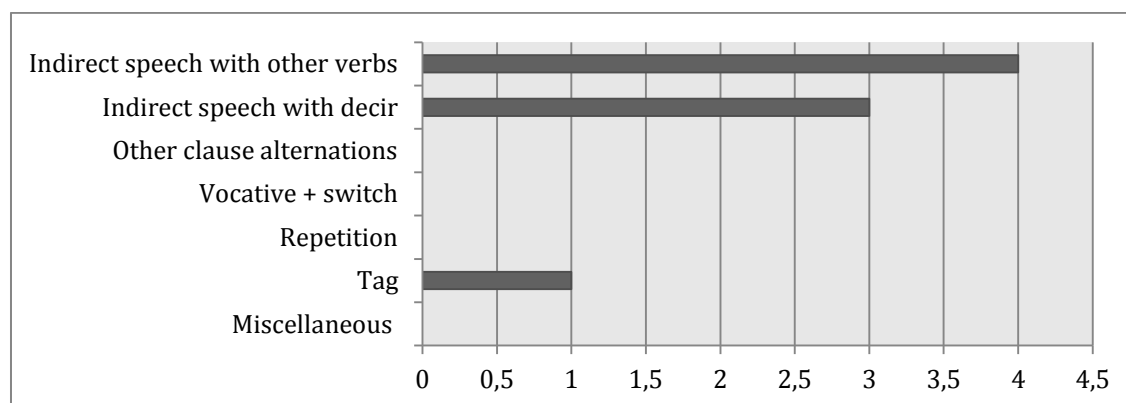


Figure 5.5. Types of *alternations* in the short story

The cases of *indirect speech* are quite uniform. There are 3 instances of this structure with the verb *decir* ‘say’:

- 5.30. **I really had a wonderful time**, dijo Suzie Bermiúdez a su jefe  
*I really had a wonderful time, Suzie Bermiúdez said to her boss* (1)
- 5.31. **Such is life** se dijo Suzie  
*such is life Suzie said to herself* (74)
- 5.32. dijo: --This is Miss Bermiúdez, room 306. Could you give me the bar, please?  
*She said: This is Miss Bermiúdez (...)* (10)

Four of the uses of indirect speech as alternations are with other verbs than *decir*, including *corroborar* ‘agree’ in 5.34, *murmurar* ‘murmur’ in 5.35 and 5.36, and *inquirir* ‘ask’ in 5.37:

- 5.33. **San Juan is wonderful**, corroboró el jefe con benévola inflexion  
*San Juan is wonderful, the boss agreed with a compassionate tone* (3)
- 5.34. **Sorry**, murmuró Suzie con magna indiferencia.  
*Sorry, Suzie murmured with great indifference* (86)
- 5.35. **Oh my God**, murmuró  
*Oh my God, she murmured*(103)
- 5.36. **May I help you?** Inquiró una virile baritone voz (...)  
*May I help you, a virile baritone voice asked (...)* (109)

In addition to these two categories, the following examples from the corpus illustrate the category called *miscellaneous*:

- 5.37. no olvidemos la puesta de sol a la Winston- **tastes-good**  
*let's not forget the sunset a la Winston – tastes good* (11)
- 5.38. Era **just what she had always dreamed about**.  
*It was just what she (...) (63)*
- 5.39. Ella pertenecía a la generación del mavi y el guarapo que no eran precisamente **what she would call sus typical drinks favoritos**.  
*She belonged to the mavi generation and the guarapo wasn't exactly what she (...) (77)*

Example 5.38 shows an embedded clause expressed in English. In 5.39 the notional subject realized as a subordinate clause is switched into English, leaving the anticipatory subject and verb (here represented only in the verb) in Spanish. In 5.40 the switched clause is the object of the copular verb *ser* 'to be'.

The final example of *alternation* is the use of a *tag*. It is a quite special instance since it has been written as it is pronounced in a Puerto Rican dialect.

- 5.40. La tipa del 306 no se sabe si es gringa o pueltorra, **bródel**.  
*The girl in 306 you don't know if she is gringa or Puerto rican, brother.* (111)

The standard Spanish pronunciation of the word would be with 'r' at the end of the word (as opposed to the 'l' appearing in the example). In some parts of Puerto Rico 'r' is pronounced 'l', resulting in the orthography found in the short story. This is a common *vocative tag* in Spanish, originating in the use of 'brother' as a *vocative tag* in English.

### 5.2.2.1.3. Congruent Lexicalization

As figure 5.3 illustrates, there are 37 instances of *congruent lexicalization* in the written data, i.e. there is a sense of going back and forth between languages and the languages involved in the switching share a grammar that can be filled lexically with either language. To illustrate this, 10 examples from the material are included and commented on. These examples will include both clear cases, and debatable cases. The instances from the short story that are deemed to be clear cases of *congruent lexicalization* are presented in examples 5.42-5.45:

- 5.41. y que **Grandma** bastante **bitchy** que había sido **after all** con ella y **Mother** diez años **ago**  
*and after all Grandma had been so bitchy with her and mother ten years ago* (29)
- 5.42. siempre enferma con **headaches** y espasmos y **athlete's foot** y **rheumatic fever** y golondrinos **all over** y mil **other** dolamas  
*always sick with headaches and spasms and athlete's foot and rheumatic fever and abscess in the armpits all over and a thousand other ailments.* (32)
- 5.43. A ella sí que no le iban hacer **swallow** esa **crap**  
*they were not going to make her swallow this crap* (56)
- 5.44. Tan **confused** quedó la **blushing young lady** tras este **discovery** que, recogiendo su **Coppertone suntan oil**, su **beach towel** y su **terry-cloth bata**, huyó **desperately** hacia el **de luxe suite** y se cobijó bajo los **refreshing** mauve **bedsheets** de su cama **queen size**.  
*So confused the blushing you lady was left when discovering that, picking up her Coppertone suntan oil, her beach towel and her terry-cloth robe, she ran desperately toward the de lux-suite and she hid under the refreshing mauve bed sheets on her queen size bed.* (102)

All of these examples exemplify cases where there is an impression of either a shared grammar filled lexically with either Spanish or English, or a sense of going back and forth between the languages. In 5.42 the sense of going back and forth is predominant, as almost every other word is expressed in English. The same can be said for 5.43. In 5.44 we see the idiomatic expression ‘swallow this crap’ with the determiner *esa* ‘this’, which underscores the liaison to the category. The final example (5.45) is one that demonstrates a long excerpt from the data where mixing occurs in every single syntactic element.

There are, however, some examples from the data that are less clear-cut. The following examples could have been analyzed as multiple cases of *insertions* rather than *congruent lexicalization*:

- 5.45. Los **beautiful people** se veían tan **deliriously happy** y el mar tan **strikingly blue**  
*The beautiful people looked so deliriously happy and the sea so strikingly blue, and the sunset* (10)
- 5.46. antes que poner **Puerto Rican** en las **applications** de trabajo  
*before putting Puerto Rican on work applications* (15)
- 5.47. y morir de hambre por no coger el **Welfare** o los **food stamps** como todos esos **lazy, dirty, no-good bums** que eran sus compatriotas  
*and die of hunger from not taking welfare or the food stamps like these lazy, dirty no-god bums that were her compatriots* (16)
- 5.48. de esos que nacen con la caneca incrustada en la mano y encierran a la **fat ugly housewife** en la casa con diez **screaming kids**  
*of those that are born with thick cancer in the hand and lock up the fat ugly housewife in the house with ten screaming kids* (45)
- 5.49. un rubicundo **crew-cut** hacia el cual dirigir sus batientes **eyelashes**  
*a rosy crew-cut towards which to direct her beating eyelashes* (82)



- 5.50. **Unfortunately**, el grupo era **predominantly** senil, compuesto de **Middle-class, Suburban Americans** estrenando su primer cheque del **Social Security**.  
*Unfortunately the group was predominantly senile, made up of Middle-class, suburban Americans showing their first Social Security check* (83)

These examples serve to illustrate that it is not always clear where to draw the line between *congruent lexicalization* and multiple *insertions*. Examples 5.46-5.51 were ultimately deemed to be cases of *congruent lexicalization* due to the continuous back and forth between Spanish and English. As Muysken himself puts it; cases that can either be seen as *congruent lexicalization* or “back-fire *insertions*” should be categorized as *congruent lexicalization* when they “do not appear to obey rules specific to the supposed matrix constituent, but rather rules common to both languages.” (2001: 6). In the analysis of the examples presented above, it became clear that they do not follow rules specific to the matrix language, which in these cases is considered to be Spanish, but rather they follow rules that are common to both languages.

### 5.3. Summary of Results

In this account we have seen that the number of *borrowings* in the short story is quite low, as only three instances were found. This means that the principal category is *code switching*, amounting to 97% of the data. Among these switches the vast majority are *intrasentential*, and only two are *extrasentential*. I have also pointed out that the instances of *code switching* in the short story can be either *marked* or *unmarked* depending on Vega’s intentions.

Applying Muysken’s categorization of *intrasentential switching* we have seen that 1) the majority of *intrasentential switches* are *insertions* 2) *alternations* are not very common, and 3) *congruent lexicalization* is a quite common phenomenon accounting for 63% of the data. Additionally we have seen that *insertions* most commonly come in the form of nouns and noun-phrases, which amount to 56 out of a total of 66 *insertions*, i.e. 85% of the *insertions*. This finding is quite similar to the 73.5 noun-insertions found in the spoken data. We have also seen that *alternations* usually occur as switching between clauses, and most commonly these *alternations* surface as *indirect speech*.

## 6. Comparison of the Spoken and the Written Data

In this chapter the descriptive and analytical accounts of the spoken and written data provided in Chapters 4 and 5 are compared and contrasted in two separate sections. First the similarities between the two datasets are presented before the differences are presented. Both of these sections will also attempt to explain the findings, and draw on the theories presented in Chapter 2, and the expectations presented in Chapter 5.

### 6.1. Similarities Between the Spoken and the Written Data

As mentioned in the introduction to the descriptive and analytical account of the written data, I expected to find some similarities between the written and spoken data, due to the fact that it has been proven that language mixing in general follows certain constraints and rules. First, most of the utterances/sentences in each of the spoken and the written data seem to have a Spanish matrix. Looking through the data it becomes clear that Spanish makes “the larger contribution” in most of the utterances/sentences. According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 15) this does not necessarily mean that the *Matrix Language* contributes with more morphemes than the embedded language (cf. one of Muysken’s methods for determining the matrix), even though this is usually the case.

The question of determining the *Matrix Language* is a complex issue, and Muysken brings it up in the context of *insertions* because “while in insertion the notion of matrix language is called for, in alternation it plays no role.” (2000: 68). When bringing up this issue he introduces six different criteria for determining the matrix language (cf. section 2.2). As mentioned the “discourse-oriented” method was used to determine the matrix language in the spoken data, and since the conversations generally occurred in Spanish, the spoken data was deemed to have a Spanish matrix. As for the written data, the “main verb-method” was used, and since most of the main verbs in the short story are in Spanish (only 9 main verbs are expressed in English), it was also concluded that the written data also is a text with a Spanish matrix.

The use of a predominant Spanish matrix in both the spoken and the written form of Spanish-English language mixing might be due to the relationship between Spanish and English in the United States. According to Lipski, as mentioned in section 2.4, it is more common to switch from the subordinate language to the dominant language in a situation of diglossia (cf. 2005: 8). Switching from one language to another can be interpreted in terms of the *Matrix Language Frame Model* in the sense that the language the speakers switch from could be understood as the *Matrix Language*, and the language the speakers switch to, could be understood as the *Embedded Language*.

Second, in the data containing language mixing, *code switching* is the dominant category in both the spoken and the written data. The spoken data that contains language mixing consists of approximately 94% *code switching* and only approximately 6% *borrowings*. Likewise the written data containing language mixing consists of 97.5% *code switching* and 2.5% *borrowings*. The large proportion of *code switching* might be due to the criteria used in the analysis. When deciding whether or not a word was a *borrowing* I did not include all the words in Spanish that have been borrowed from English since the first contact between the two languages. I only chose to include the most prominent cases of *borrowing*.

Third, with regard to the portion of the data that contains *intrasentential code switching*, *insertion* is the most common category. In the spoken data 58 % of the *intrasentential switches* are *insertions*. In the written data 59% of the *intrasentential switches* are *insertions*, which means that the percentage of *insertions* among *intrasentential switches* is more or less the same. The point made in section 4.2.2.1.3 and 5.2.2.1.3 should be emphasized again: the distinction between multiple *insertions* and *congruent lexicalization* differs depending on the eyes of the analyst. It could be argued that the strict criteria used in the analysis conducted in this thesis has resulted in a higher proportion of *insertion* than would have been expected.

The fourth similarity between the spoken and the written data also has to do with *insertions*. Within the category *insertion* most inserted elements are *nouns* and *noun phrases*. 73.5% of *insertions* in the spoken data are either *nouns* or *noun phrases*, and as much as 89.5% of *insertions* in the written data are *nouns* or *noun phrases*. This finding is consistent with previous research on *code switching*: “Most common are insertions of bare nouns and bare noun phrases.” (Muysken 2000: 95). Muysken even suggests a categorical hierarchy where *nouns* are at the top of the hierarchy. Nevertheless, he adds that the problems with such hierarchies are that “there is no explanation given for the order of the lexical categories in the hierarchies. In addition, it turns out that there are very striking language-specific deviations

from it.” (Muysken 2000: 74). Lipski also supports this view when he says that these hierarchies have so many exceptions that they become meaningless if dealt with universally, even though there are some patterns within some language families (cf. 2008: 230).

Despite these claims, the present investigation lends evidence to the claim that nouns and noun phrases are very common *insertions*, and that *pronouns* are rare (with only two instances in the spoken data). These similarities falls under the category of structural similarities that reinforce the notion that *code switching* follows rules, and is supported by Zentella’s extensive study of *code switching* among Puerto Rican children in East Harlem, NYC: “When English and Spanish switches were combined, five grammatical categories predominated. Full sentences, N/NPs, and independent clauses (...)” (Zentella 1997: 122). Considering that nouns and noun phrases are in second place in Zentella’s study, and they predominate in the data sets investigated here, there is as a strong indication that nouns and noun phrases are common elements to switch.

## 6.2. Differences Between the Spoken and the Written Data

As mentioned in the hypotheses formulated in Chapter 5, I expected to find differences between the spoken and the written data because of general differences between spoken and written language (despite of the short story’s “oral language”), the time gap between the publication of the short story and the collection of the spoken data, and the differences concerning language acquisition between the spoken-data informants and the author of the short story.

To begin with, the ratio between sequences containing language mixing and sequences without language mixing differs. In the spoken data approximately 35% of the material contains language mixing. In contrast, the written data contains approximately 95% language mixing. This is a substantial difference, and it would seem as if the short story demonstrates language mixing in a much more condensed form than the spoken data. This might be due to the differences in language proficiency between the informants and the author, but it might also be due to conceivably different aims of the informants and the author. When writing the short story it is plausible that Ana Lydia Vega aimed to demonstrate what Spanglish is, and hence mixed excessively in order to emphasize this feature. Lipski supports this view when he

writes about the differences between *code switching* in spoken language and in creative literature:

(...) most linguists who have studied code switching in a wide variety of language-contact environments throughout the world analyze spontaneous code switching in spoken language as a loosely monitored speech mode that is circumscribed by basic syntactic restrictions and is largely below the level of conscious awareness. Only in written language, particularly in creative literature, is deliberate manipulation of code switching to achieve specific aesthetic goals a viable option. (Lipski 2008: 50).

This citation lends evidence to the hypothesis that it is unlikely that the informants would deliberately manipulate their speech, while this might be more common in creative literature. Granted, as mentioned in section 3.1.2.4, the recording device could have influenced them, and they could have intended to demonstrate Spanglish, but since most of the data consists of rather long recordings it is plausible that the recording device only influenced their speech at the beginning of the recording.

Secondly, the use of *borrowing* is more widespread in the spoken data. There are only 3 instances of *borrowing* in the written data, amounting to approximately 2.5% of the data containing language mixing in the short story. The spoken data on the other hand, contains 44 instances of *borrowing*, amounting to approximately 6% of the data containing language mixing. Another important difference between the spoken and the written material in terms of *borrowing* is that the spoken data contains 16 instances of *indirect borrowing*, more specifically *calques*, amounting to approximately 2% of the sequences containing language mixing, whereas there is not one single case of *calque* in the short story. If we assume that the short story is written by an early bilingual, this finding contradicts what Lipski claimed about the group he calls ‘fluent bilinguals’, when he said, “Calques of idiomatic expressions in English are frequent when speaking Spanish” (2005: 1). Following his description of this group one would have expected to find more *calques* in the written data than in the spoken data, but this material demonstrates the opposite situation.

A third difference is that *intrasentential code switching* is more common in the written data. Of *code switching* in the short story approximately 98% is *intrasentential*, and only approximately 2% is *extrasentential*. In other words, the vast majority of the short story demonstrates the practice of switching within the sentence. Of *code switching* in the spoken data, however, only 68% is *intrasentential*, and 32% is *extrasentential*, albeit with a clear preference for the intrasentential type. This finding could be explained with reference to the informants for the spoken data and the author of the short story: because the informants are

late bilinguals, and thus cannot be characterized as balanced bilinguals, they would be expected to switch more between sentences than within sentences compared to early bilinguals. However, this also means that the finding that 68% of *code switching* in the spoken data is *intrasentential* is an unexpected. The assumptions about Vega's linguistic proficiency as an early bilingual might help explain why there is more *intrasentential switching* in her short story than in the spoken data from informants who learned English after adolescence, as Lipski claims that fluent bilinguals are "most noted for intrasentential code-switching" (2005: 1).

Finally, we see that the category *alternation* is more common in the spoken data. Approximately 38% of the spoken data containing *intrasentential switching* are cases of *alternations*, whereas in the short story only approximately 9% of *intrasentential switching* belongs to this category. Consequently, where the spoken data includes several cases of *alternations* the written data includes numerous cases of *congruent lexicalization*. In the short story approximately 32% of *intrasentential switching* are sequences of *congruent lexicalization*, whereas in the spoken data only approximately 3.5% of *intrasentential switching* are cases of *congruent lexicalization*. Again, the point of language acquisition becomes relevant, as *congruent lexicalization* typically occurs among second generation migrant groups (cf. Muysken 2000: 8), which would indicate the requirement of balanced bilingualism to engage in this particular type of *intrasentential code switching*.

## 7. Conclusions

Before providing conclusions to the research questions presented in the introduction it might be interesting to consider why it is interesting to study language mixing in the first place. What is the broad nature of this topic? Essentially, as Lipski points out below, research on bilingualism can in general shed light on language dominance and how the two different languages are represented in bilingual speakers' brains:

[Intrasentential code switching] provides linguists with a proving ground for theories of language dominance and the representation of language in the cognitive apparatus of bilingual speakers. (Lipski 2008: 230).

In addition to this, *intrasentential code switching* in particular can exemplify how grammatical structure, comparative typological hierarchies and sociolinguistics are connected (ibid.). The present thesis demonstrates the relationship between these three fields. In this thesis we have seen an analysis of grammatical structures, how typological similarities facilitates *intrasentential code switching* and how this phenomenon is related to the socio-cultural situation in the United States. Additionally, it is worth mentioning the fact that we have also seen the difficulties concerning the boundaries between *borrowing* and *code switching* as pointed out by Peter Auer and others.

### 7.1. Assessment of Hypotheses

In section 4.4 it was concluded that the spoken data used in this thesis supports only one of Lipski's three claims. For further research it is important to stress that more informants are necessary to verify these findings. First, the four informants recruited for this thesis unquestionably follow two of three claims made by Lipski, i.e. 1) *calques* in English are rare, and 2) the switched items are typically inserted in non-assimilated fashion.

We have, on the other hand, also seen that they do not typically switch at major discourse boundaries, such as sentences and paragraphs. A look at two different definitions of the term *domain of discourse* told us that the informants do switch languages according to setting, e.g. at work, at home, with friends, with family, etc., but that they do not to a large extent switch in connection with topic shifts.

With respect to the finding about *calques* it is also noteworthy that *calques* are even more rare in the short story written by a fluent bilingual, and this is not in line with Lipski's description of this group. Additionally there is only one instance of an assimilated item in the short story (*hangueadores*), which also contradicts his claims put forward about fluent bilinguals. This could indicate that Lipski's statements about the three different groups' characteristics ought to be revised.

## 7.2. Results of Comparison

To be able to answer the second research question a quick review of the results presented in Chapter 6 might be useful. In this investigation we saw that there are many similarities between the spoken and the written data. First, both datasets generally have a Spanish matrix. Second, *code switching* is the most common category in both datasets. Third, inserted elements seem to dominate when *code switching* is intrasentential. Fourth, among the inserted elements nouns and noun phrases are the most common.

On the other hand, differences between these two datasets were uncovered as well. First, the written data consists of a larger portion of language mixing than does the spoken data. Second, *borrowing* is an uncommon language contact phenomenon in both datasets, but slightly more common in the spoken data. Third, the written data does not only contain more language mixing, but also more *code switching* of the intrasentential type. Fourth, when the author of the short story switches within a sentence *congruent lexicalization* is common, whereas the informants tend to use *alternation* when switching intrasententially.

Although there are four major similarities and four major differences between the datasets, there is no straightforward answer to this question. However, it is clear that some of the findings are unexpected. Before analyzing the data, I expected to find more differences than similarities between the two datasets. There were four reasons for this: first, due to general differences between spoken and written language, second, because the short story was published three decades before the spoken data was collected, third, because there are considerable differences in language acquisition, and thus language proficiency between the author and the informants, and fourth I suspected that the differences in motivations for using language mixing would have an impact on language use.

The short story includes more language mixing in general than the spoken data. This is supported by one of the hypotheses presented above, i.e. that Vega perhaps would deliberately



use more language mixing than what is common in spoken language mixing “to achieve aesthetic goals”. That the written data includes more *code switching*, especially of the *intrasentential* type might be due to Vega’s higher degree of language proficiency in both languages due to her early acquisition of English. The same reasoning could be behind the finding that there is more *congruent lexicalization* in the short story. While Vega manages to capture many features of spontaneous spoken Spanglish, there are also features present that are not typical of the spoken data in the investigation.

### 7.3. Future Research

Finally, some comments about what I would have liked to do differently given the opportunity to carry out this project again are in order. These comments will also serve as suggestions as to what can be done in future research on the subject. First, one of the greatest weaknesses of this thesis is the low number of informants; I would have liked to have more time recruiting informants. With four informants I was only able to scratch the surface of the language behavior of this group and it is impossible to say anything absolute about *code switching*-habits of this group as a whole. Secondly, the informants should preferably fall under the same group of bilinguals like Ana Lydia Vega, since it has been shown that the informants’ linguistic proficiency should be more or less the same as the author whose text their language is being compared to. The second point is linked to the first, in that with more time I would have been able to be more selective when recruiting informants.

Notwithstanding, the tendencies uncovered here can help start a new, and more extensive project to find out whether or not language mixing used as a literary device in creative literature is comparable to actual spoken language mixing. Furthermore, this project shows that already established frameworks need revision, as Lipski’s claims were only supported to a certain extent.

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## Online Dictionaries

Word Reference, online: <http://www.wordreference.com/>

- Spanish-English dictionary
- Monolingual Spanish dictionary
- Monolingual English dictionary

# Appendices

Appendix I: Flyer

Appendix II: Consent form

Appendix III: Sociolinguistic form

Appendix IV: *Pollito Chicken* by Ana Lydia Vega

The transcribed spoken data is available upon request.

# Do you speak 'Spanglish'?

I am a Norwegian Master's student who is looking for people to help me out on my project. The topic for my project is Spanish-English code-switching, a.k.a. 'Spanglish', and I need to get in touch with people who switch between Spanish and English in their speech! Preferably I would like to get in contact with 'balanced bilinguals', which means that you speak both languages equally well. If you know anyone, spread the word, and if you feel that you fit the description, do not hesitate to contact me (see contact information below). I will be here until the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, so time is of the essence!

Solveig Rise Tollin

Phone number: 917 971 7634

E-mail address: [solrito@gmail.com](mailto:solrito@gmail.com)

## Appendix II: Consent form

### Consent form

I agree to participate in a study of Spanish-English code-switching, conducted by Solveig Rise Tollin, Master's student of the English Language from the University of Oslo, Norway, with the understanding that:

2. The purpose of the study is to observe and describe how Hispanics in New York code-switch between Spanish and English in their speech. The intent is not to change my linguistic behavior;
3. Solveig Rise Tollin will audiotape my speech on various occasions over the course of 6 weeks. Interviews will also be conducted and audio-taped where the main topic will be general thoughts and ideas about the situation of Spanish in New York, and attitudes about the term 'Spanglish';
4. All tapes of both Spanish-English speech and interviews will be listened to and analyzed by Solveig Rise Tollin, and the advisor appointed for this study, Signe Oksefjell Ebeling, and only for educational and scientific research purposes. At all times my identity will be kept confidential;
5. I will not be identified by my actual name in any use made of the tapes;
6. I will have the right to listen to all audio tapes and to erase any of them or parts of them;
7. At the end of the project, Solveig Rise Tollin is allowed to keep these tapes for future educational and scientific research purposes.

Signature of informant:

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Signature of investigator:



### Appendix III: Sociolinguistic form

Last name:	First name(s):	Year of Birth:
Country of birth:	First language:	Second language:

Age of acquisition:

Spanish:	
English:	

Proficiency:

	High	Medium	Low
Spanish:			
English:			

Typical daily use (description, e.g. at home, at work, with friends, with family, with colleagues, etc.):

Spanish:	
English:	

	Very comfortable	Comfortable	Not comfortable
Comfort with switching languages			

Description of language choice, when, where and with whom do you switch languages:

--

What language do you prefer to speak?

Spanish	
English	

What language do you think is more beautiful/ useful?

Beautiful	
Useful	

## Appendix IV: *Pollito Chicken*

### Pollito Chicken

Ana Lydia Vega

(\*) (En: Vega, Ana Lydia y Carmen Lugo Filippi. *Virgenes y mártires*. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Antillana, 1994. [pp. 73-80]), 5ª edic. [1977] .

I really had a wonderful time, dijo Suzie Bermiúdez a su jefe tan pronto puso un spike-heel en la oficina.

San Juan is wonderful, corroboró el jefe con benévola inflexión, reprimiendo ferozmente el deseo de añadir: I wonder why you Spiks don't stay home and enjoy it.

Todo lo cual nos pone en el aprieto de contarles el surprise return de Suzie Bermiúdez a su native land tras diez años de luchas incesantes.

Lo que la decidió fue el breathtaking poster de Fomento que vio en la travel agency del lobby de su building. El breathtaking poster mentado representaba una pareja de beautiful people holding hands en el funicular del Hotel Conquistador. Los beautiful people se veían tan deliriously happy y el mar tan strikingly blue y la puesta de sol --no olvidemos la puesta de sol a la Winston-tastes-good-- la puesta de sol tan shocking pink en la distancia que Susie Bermiúdez, a pesar de que no pasaba por el Barrio a pie ni bajo amenaza de ejecución por la Mafia, a pesar de que prefería mil veces perder un fabulous job antes que poner Puerto Rican en las applications de trabajo y morir de hambre por no coger el Welfare o los food stamps como todos esos lazy, dirty, no-good bums que eran sus compatriotas, Suzie Bermiúdez, repito, sacó todos sus ahorros de secretaria de housing project de negros --que no eran mejores que los New York Puerto Ricans pero por lo menos no eran New York Puerto Ricans-- y abordó un 747 en raudos y uninterrupted flight hasta San Juan.

Al llegar, se sintió all of a sudden como un frankfurter girando dócilmente en un horno de cristal. Le faltó aire y tuvo que desperately hold on a la imagen del breathtaking poster para no echar a correr hacia el avión. La visión de aquella vociferante crowd disfrazada de colores aullantes y coronada por kilómetros de hair rollers la obligó a preguntarse si no era preferible coger un bus o algo por el estilo y refugiarse en los loving arms de su Grandma en el countryside de Lares. Pero on second thought se dijo que ya había hecho reservations en el Conquistador y que Grandma bastante bitchy que había sido after all con ella y Mother diez años ago. Por eso Dad nunca había querido ---además de que Grandma no podía verlo ni en pintura porque tenía el pelo kinky-- casarse con Mother, por no cargar con la cruz de Grandma, siempre enferma con headaches y espasmos y athlete's foot y rheumatic fever y golondrinos all over y mil other dolamas. Por eso fue también que Mother se había llevado a Suzie para New York y thank God, porque de haberse quedado en Lares, la pobre Mother se hubiera muerto antes de lo que se murió allá en el Bronx y de algo seguramente worse.

Suzie Bermiúdez se montó en el station-wagon del Hotel Conquistador que estaba cundido de full-blood, flower-shirted, Bermuda-Shorted Continentals con Polaroid cameras colgando del cuello. Y--sería porque el station-wagon era air-conditioned-- se sintió como si estuviera bailando un fox-trot en la azotea del Empire State Building.

Pensó con cierto amusement en lo que hubiese sido de ella si a Mother no se le ocurre la brilliant idea de emigrar. Se hubiera casado con algún drunken bastard de billar, de esos que nacen con la caneca incrustada en la mano y encierran a la fat ugly housewife en la casa con diez screaming kids entre los cellulitic muslos mientras ellos hacen pretty-body y le aplanan la calle a cualquier shameless bitch. No, thanks. Cuando Suzie Bermiúdez se casara

porque maybe se casaría para pagar menos income tax-- sería con un straight All American, Republican, church-going, Wall-Street businessman, como su jefe Mister Bumper porque ésos sí que son good husbands y tratan a sus mujeres como real ladies criadas con el manual de Amy Vanderbilt y todo.

Por el camino observó nevertheless la transformación de Puerto Rico. Le pareció very encouraging aquella proliferación de urbanizaciones, fábricas, condominios, carreteras y shopping centers. Y todavía esos filthy, no-good Communist terrorists se atrevían a hablar de independencia. A ella sí que no le iban hacer swallow esa crap. Con lo atrasada y underdeveloped que ella había dejado esa isla diez años ago. Aprender a hablar good English, a recoger el trash que tiraban como savages en las calles y a comportarse como decent people era lo que tenían que hacer y dejarse de tanto fuss.

El Conquistador se le apareció como un castillo de los Middle Ages surgido de las olas. Era just what she had always dreamed about. Su intempestivo one-week leave comenzó a cobrar sentido ante esa ravishing view. Tan pronto hizo todos los arrangements de rigor, Suzie se precipitó hacia su de luxe suite para ponerse el sexy polkadot bikini que había comprado en Gimbers especialmente para esta fantastic occasion. Se pasó un peine por los cabellos teñidos de Wild Auburn y desrizados con Curl-free, se pintó los labios de Bicentennial Red para acentuar la blancura de los dientes y se frotó una gota de Evening in the South Seas detrás de cada oreja.

Minutos después, sufrió su primer down cuando le informaron que el funicular estaba out of order. Tendría que substituir la white-sanded, palm-lined beach por el pentagonal swimming pool, abortando así su exciting sueño del breathtaking poster.

Mas

--Such is life

se dijo Suzie y alquiló una chaise-longue a orillas del pentagonal swimming pool just beside the bar. El mozo le sirvió al instante un typical drink llamado piña colada que la sorprendió very positively. Ella pertenecía a la generación del mavi y el guarapo que no eran precisamente what she would call sus typical drinks favoritos.

Alrededor del pentagonal swimming pool abundaba, por sobre los full-blood Americans, la fauna local. Un altoparlante difundía meliflua Music from the Tropics, cantada por un crooner de quivering voice y disgusting goleta English, mientras los atléticos Latin specimens modelaban sus biceps en el trampolín. Suzie Bermúdez buscó en vano un rostro pecoso, un rubicundo crew-cut hacia el cual dirigir sus batientes eyelashes. Unfortunately, el grupo era predominantly senil, compuesto de Middle-class, Suburban Americans estrenando su primer cheque del Social Security.

--Ujté ej pueltorriqueña, ¿noveldá?

preguntó un awful hombrechico de no más de three feet de alto, emborujado como un guineo niño en un imitation Pierre Cardin mini-suit.

--Sorry

murmuró Suzie con magna indiferencia. Y poniéndose los sunglasses, abrió el bestseller de turno en la página exacta en que el negro haitiano hipnotizaba a su víctima blanca para efectuar unos primitive Voodoo rites sobre su naked body.

Tres piñas coladas later y post violación de la protagonista del best-seller, Suzie no tuvo más remedio que comenzar a inspeccionar los native specimens con el rabo del ojo. Y --sería seguramente porque el poolside no era air-conditioned-- fue así que nuestra heroína realized que los looks del bartender calentaban más que el sol de las three o'clock sobre un techo de zinc.

Cada vez que los turgent breasts de Suzie amenazaban con brotar como dos toronjas maduras del bikini-bra, al hombre se le querían salir los eyeballs de la cara. Hubo como un subtle espadeo de looks antes de que la tímida y ladylike New York housing project secretary

se atreviese a posar la vista en los hairs del tarzánico pecho. In the meantime, los ojos del bartender descendían one-way elevators hacia parajes más fértiles y frondosos. Y Suzie Bermiúdez sintió que la empujaban fatalmente, a la hora del más febril rush, hacia un sudoroso, maloliente y alborotoso streetcar named desire.

Tan confused quedó la blushing young lady tras este discovery que, recogiendo su Coppertone suntan oil, su beach towel y su terry-cloth bata, huyó desperately hacia el de luxe suite y se cobijó bajo los refreshing mauve bedsheets de su cama queen size.

Oh my God, murmuró, sonrojándose como una frozen strawberry al sentir que sus platinum-frosted fingernails buscaban, independientemente de su voluntad, el teléfono. Y con su mejor falsetto de executive secretary y la cabeza girándole como desbocado merry-go-round, dijo:

--This is Miss Bermiúdez, room 306. Could you give me the bar, please?

--May I help you?

inquirió una virile baritone voz con acento digno de Comisionado Residente en Washington.

Esa misma noche, el bartender confesó a sus buddies hanguadores de lobby que:

La tipa del 306 no se sabe si es gringa o pueltorra, bródel. Pide room service en inglés legal pero, cuando la pongo a gozal, abre la boca a grial en boricua.

--Y ¿qué dice?

respondió cual coro de salsa su fan club de ávidos aspirantes a tumbagringas.

Entonces el admirado mamitólogo narró cómo, en el preciso instante en que las platinum-frosted fingernails se incrustaban passionately en su afro, desde los skyscrapers inalcanzables de un intra-uterine orgasm, los half-opened lips de Suzie Bermiúdez producían el sonoro mugido ancestral de:

--¡VIVA PUELTO RICO LIBREEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEE!